The Forum.

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THE ALARMING PROPORTION OF VENAL VOTERS.

I AM a voter and am interested in political questions. But I have never taken an active part in politics and have never held any civil office. My interest in the subject of venal voting is therefore less political than social. It is such an interest as any person might feel who loves his country, respects himself and his fellow-man, and stops occasionally to think.

Moreover, such interest as I have is of recent date. The history of its birth is on this wise: In the fall of 1890 I was chosen, by Hartford town meeting, chairman of a committee on out-door alms, and it became my duty to study with considerable care the whole pauper question. This brought into view the tramp problem; and last summer the "Quill Club," of New York, asked me to write a paper for them on that theme. Thereupon I set to work to inform myself concerning the habits of these curious folk, and sent out blocks of question blanks to mayors of various cities, requesting attention to them from proper officers. These blanks included the inquiry, "When and where did you last vote?" Thirteen hundred and forty-nine of the blanks were returned filled, from fourteen different cities or institutions.

In most instances the information was gathered by the chief of police or his delegate, in all cases through direct questions to the tramp; and it has been assumed by me, in weighing the answers, that they were reliable, with but few exceptions, at least whenever the evidence was unfavorable to the witness. Of the one thousand and eighty-six who replied to the question on voting, five hundred and

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three had voted—one hundred and fifteen within a year; one hundred and fifty-two, one year ago; seventy, two years ago; fifty-eight, three years ago; twenty-three, four years ago; eighty-five, over four years ago. Many had spread themselves politically over several States. One at Worcester had voted in California within the year.

On reading these records, the question naturally arose, How would such persons vote? There are dark whisperings, with not a little newspaper talk, about corruption. Can there be something in it, after all? That there might be was more than hinted at by certain facts which had come to me incidentally not long before in the committee work already alluded to. It had been ascertained that the doors of the Hartford Almshouse were thrown wide open early in the morning of every election day, and that the inmates returned in the evening quite uniformly intoxicated, a mystery the mysteriousness of which was not diminished by the facts that such inmates were supposed to be impecunious and that drinking-places were all closed by the law on election days. Furthermore, from November 1, 1882, to January 19, 1891, an average of one hundred and thirty-seven persons was found to have been convicted before the police court twice or oftener; forty-nine, three times or oftener; fifteen, four times or oftener. And since each conviction was found to represent an average of three and nine-tenths arrests, these one hundred and thirty-seven were under arrest at least eight times apiece; while forty-nine of them must have been behind bars twelve times and fifteen about sixteen times.

Careful examination showed that the greater number of these persons appeared before the police court and in jail year after year until the usual processes of vagrancy, or death, removed them from the community. The history of some was traced back for twenty years. Many of them have repeated this last year the history of their previous life. Ninety-four of the one hundred and thirty-seven had averaged one hundred and sixty-one days in jail during the twelvemonth. Most of these were drunkards; all of the ninety-four were. And what kind of voters would such persons be? For most of them were also men and could vote. To any one who has had any intimate knowledge of drunkards the answer could not be doubtful. The average drunkard, however well educated and under whatever bonds from ancestry and station to behave like a decent man, when once he is possessed by the impulse to drink will sell anything he has to gratify it. Neither honor, nor pride, nor any other consideration counts. These men, chiefly without the restraints of respectable surroundings,

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the old vestiges of self-respect long since worn away by long familiarity with station-house and jail—how would they probably act in the presence of the three influences: chronic penury, consuming thirst, and proffered money? I have since learned, and I shall presently state, how a majority of them act.

These facts and the conclusions toward which they kept pointing induced me to lead the conversation toward the question of venality while in the company of a few friends known to be, or to have been, actively engaged in what is called politics. Their statements were specific, and they were good enough to permit me to make them public. This was done May 10 of the present year, on invitation of the Board of Trade of Hartford, at a largely attended meeting called for the purpose. The address at that time made was extensively clipped and commentated. Absolute exactness was sometimes sacrificed to brevity; the more striking facts were occasionally printed without giving all the limitations; here and there an unusually boyish scribe attempted to make merry and indulged in flippancy. Generally, however, the press was respectful as well as interested. And if it was often incredulous and demanded more proof, that was scarcely to be wondered at. People in Connecticut who knew most about the situation criticised chiefly the moderation of my estimates. But it was not a matter of surprise that strangers should have been skeptical as to the alleged prevalence of venality in a State with the history and the advantages, educational and other, of this. That from seventeen thousand to twenty-five thousand of our one hundred and sixty-six thousand voters were liable to be bought and sold at every election was hard to believe.

Nevertheless, it is true, or, if incorrect, it is rather below than beyond the mark. And this I hope to show, though I shall here again be debarred, from the very nature of the case, from giving names of persons or places. I will only state that my informants, who are almost equally from the two greater parties, are gentlemen who are considered by myself and by those who know them qualified in a very eminent degree to testify. They include professional and business men of excellent position in the community, and, so far as I know, of exemplary lives; they exclude under-strappers and go-betweens. They include no man who has enriched himself in politics by illegitimate means, to my knowledge. They are, however, men who have pulled the wires. In a word, they were neither the spies nor the private soldiers of the army. They were colonels, generals, officers of the general staff, pay-

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masters, and the like. They knew what was done—they did it through others. As to general credibility, my statements must be taken like those of any witness. If the circumstantiality and detail of the allegations made do not carry conviction, there is nothing more to be done.

As I write I have before me four tables. Two of these were prepared from books which have been actually used in campaigns by town committeemen, and which bear all their original marks, together with others which have since been added by them for my present uses. These books too are before me. The third table is prepared from a check-list marked by me at the dictation of a committeeman. This list is also before me. The fourth is made up out of materials supplied from memory by an active politician. He vouches for its approximate accuracy, and I believe him. I do not, however, attach the importance to it which the other three receive, because I distrust memory and impressions. I believe in, and for the purposes of this paper have taken only formal cognizance of, particular statements treating of voters man by man, noted in black and white opposite each name, and reduced to tabular form by myself, with the employment of all possible means for detecting and correcting error. In two of the tables which will be given I feel as great confidence as in any that I have personal knowledge of. And I should be glad to believe that statistical statements are always as accurate as I think the third to be. Necessarily only percentages can be given.

RURAL TOWN I.

Origin.	Total Venal of Each Stock.	Percentage of all Venal.	Temperate.	Intemperate.	Drunkards.	Total Intemperate and Drunkards.	Shiftless.	Arrested or Imprisoned.
American stock	7.5	59.8	1.69	[1]70.0	[2]100.0	80.0	[3]100.0	100.0
English born	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
English, second generation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
German born	11.8	5.5	6.25	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
German, second generation	33.3	5.5	11.1	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
Irish born	11.1	5.5	5.9	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Irish, second generation	29.3	23.7	6.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Scotch born	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch, second generation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other foreign born	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other foreign, second generation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Totals	9.8	100.0	2.5	75.5	100.0	85.4	100.0	100.0

[1] Four are also shiftless. [2] One is also shiftless. [3] One is an idiot.

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One remark should be made here which applies equally to all the tables. Attention is given to the proportion of the venal: first, according to origin; secondly, to habit; thirdly, to police record. Thus in Rural Town I., column 1 shows that seven and five-tenths out of every hundred, or seventy-five out of every thousand, of the voters of American stock in this town are venal; column 2, that five hundred and ninety-eight out of every thousand of the venal are Americans; column 3, that seventeen out of the thousand temperate Americans are venal; column 4, that seven hundred in a thousand intemperate Americans are venal; column 5, that every American drunkard—and there are ten of them here—is venal; column 6, that eight hundred out of one thousand intemperate and drunkard Americans are venal; column 7, that all the shiftless Americans in the town are venal; column 8, that all the Americans who have been under arrest or imprisonment are venal. By American stock is meant those whose parents were born here. By "second-generation English" is meant those whose parents were born in England. Finally, by venal is meant any person who accepts or is known to have accepted money or other valuable consideration either to "turn out for his own side" or to vote for the other.

The prominence here given to race and habit should perhaps be also explained. From the first, and from every quarter, came the testimony that in the country the venal were largely of American, in the city of foreign, origin; and that whereas persons of Irish extraction headed the list among foreigners, Irish of the second generation considerably surpassed those of the first in venality. Would the actual facts support this theory? In this case they do.

It was constantly affirmed that intemperance figured very largely in the annals of vote-buying. Now, I am not a total abstainer either theoretically or practically, and I have always voted in favor of license. It is needless to say that I do not belong to the Prohibition party. But anybody who can see must know that, considered merely as a question of social economy, of dollars and cents, of tax-bills and public convenience generally, the "drink question" is the question of the day. The tariff wrangle is a mere baby to it. If intelligent, steady-going people could be induced to spend upon the drink question a fraction of the time and money they employ upon the other, we might hope for some real improvement in its treatment. Prominence is given, therefore, to the temperance and intemperance in venality simply because the subject cannot be treated at all without giving that

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prominence. The table speaks positively as to the prevalence of intemperance among the venal. Negatively, or conversely, it may be stated that out of the whole population of the town there are, or rather were, but seven intemperate persons who were not purchasable and not a single drunkard or shiftless person.

Next in order is a second rural town in a different county, and with quite different conditions as to soil, manner of life, etc.:

RURAL TOWN II.

Origin.	Total Venal of Each Stock.	Percentage of Venal.	Temperate.	Total Abstainers.	Total Temperate and Total Abstainers.	Intemperate.	Drunkards.	Total Intemperate and Drunkards.	Shiftless.	Arrested or Imprisoned.
American stock.....	21.0	84.5	12.0	0.0	11.5	65.5	100.0	66.1	100.0	100.0
Colored.....	100.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
English born.....	7.7	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.6	0.0	66.6	0.0	0.0
English, second generation.....	14.3	1.0	14.3	0.0	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French Canadian born.	100.0	3.2	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
French Canadian, second generation.....	66.6	2.1	66.6	0.0	66.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
German born.....	33.3	1.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
German, second generation.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Irish born.....	14.3	1.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Irish, second generation.....	27.3	3.1	12.5	0.0	12.5	66.6	0.0	66.6	0.0	0.0
Nova Scotian born....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nova Scotian, second generation.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch born.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch, second generation.....	100.0	1.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Swede born.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Swede, second generation.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Totals.....	20.9	100.0	12.2	0.0	12.0	63.4	100.0	63.9	100.0	100.0

In this town twenty-one out of every hundred voters, nearly, or more than one in five, are venal, or "commercial" as they are sometimes called. Nearly four in five are "straight goods," to employ another term in use there. Of "American" voters 21 per cent are venal; Irish of the first and second generations maintain their relative position as above, though in far less striking proportions; but they are considerably outnumbered by French Canadians; and in the proportion of venal to non-venal of their own blood, these latter and also the Germans go far ahead of them. There is but 16.3 per cent of for-

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eign population in this town. The make-up of the native population is pictured by the fact that ten family names represent more than a hundred voters—one of them not far from thirty. And it was to me a very impressive object-lesson to note how my informant sailed through that last family. Now and then he hesitated for a moment as Christian names repeated themselves. But in an instant he recovered himself as a second initial or some hint from neighborhood or relationship gave him the cue, and went swimmingly on to the end. He could make a census of that town at his desk at home. And not at all behind him, considering the greater populousness of his town, had been the other rural politician.

This town is somewhat unusually sober and orderly. But the nearest approach to the village drunkard is venal. Two-thirds of the intemperate and drunkard Americans, Irish of second generation, and English, and all of the colored and of the French Canadian intemperate are venal; and sixty-four out of every one hundred of this whole class are venal. The only "shiftless" voters are Americans: and they, together with the few arrested or imprisoned, are all venal.

The next table exhibits the condition of a single ward in one of our Connecticut cities:

CITY WARD I.

Origin.	Total Venal of Each Stock.	Percentage of all Venal.	Temperate.	Total Abstainers.	Total Temperate and Total Abstainers.	Intemperate.	Drunkards.	Total Intemperate and Drunkards.	Arrested or Imprisoned.
American stock	5.9	35.9	2.3	34.8	3.2	25.5	66.6	39.4	5.8
Colored	100.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
English born	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
English, second generation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French born	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French, second generation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
German born	13.6	7.7	8.0	0.0	8.0	45.5	50.0	46.2	100.0
German, second generation	8.6	3.2	2.0	100 0	40.0	33.3	50.0	37.6	100.0
Irish born	17.8	24.9	6.0	100.0	7.1	68.8	78.9	74.3	25.0
Irish, second generation	13.8	23.0	3.6	100.0	4.5	63.0	75.0	66.6	100.0
Italian born	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Italian, second generation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch born	6.6	0.7	7.1	0.0	6.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch, second generation	10.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
Other foreign born	33.3	1.3	50.0	0.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other foreign, second generation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unknown	11.1	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Totals	9.3	100.0	3.4	43.3	4.2	42.9	71.7	52.9	72.7

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This table is composite, the materials being drawn from three sources, not all of one party, and, party-wise, without consultation or conference. There were in consequence such uncertainties as are sure to arise from different standards as well as diverse minds. This appeared most of all in the matter of drinking-habits and that of origin. A reasonable degree of uniformity was secured as to the first by steady explanation of and insistence upon my own interpretation of the terms, which was that temperate means a man who drinks, if at all, only with strict moderation, being never known to get drunk; intemperate, a steady drinker who now and then becomes the worse for liquor, and is on the straight road to the next stage, that of drunkard —the man who is hopelessly in the toils and is often and publicly drunk. But for the other there was no remedy. And in so large a community bounded by artificial lines and including not a few persons on the constant move, it was not possible to secure that intimate knowledge of parentage on which alone certainty could be based. In fact, on two separate occasions one of my informants, while deviating but one from the tally of "Irish," made a difference of over fifty per cent in the score of Irish of the second generation; in one instance figuring them at less than half those of the first generation; in the other marking them as they have been left in the table, a trifle below these.

Whereas in the country towns the total of venals showed 59.8 and 84.5 per cent respectively Americans, in this city precinct only 35.9 per cent are of American stock. The percentage of intemperate, or drunken, Americans who are venal drops here from 80 and 66.1 per cent to 39.4, and of the arrested or imprisoned from 100 in both rural communities to 5.8—a tremendous fall. The proportion of venal among American intemperate and drunkard is in excess of that of Germans of the second generation, but falls behind that of Germans of the first and Irish of both generations. In studying this table it need only be added that the district is said to include one of the best and richest parts of the city and none or but little of the slums. This will account for the fact that the percentage of venality is but 9.3, while that of some of the other wards ranges as high as 26.5 and 32.3, and that of the whole town is 13.5.

The next table, representing City Ward II., is a reduction to systematic form of a statement made by an experienced practical politician concerning the number and distribution of venal voters in his ward. This, too, is a ward in a city. The statement was limited to the total of the venal according to origin. The data were therefore

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CITY WARD II.[1]

Origin.	Drunkards and Hard Drinkers.	Every-day Drinkers but not Drunkards.	Not Drinkers and not Shiftless.	Total Drunkards and Every-day Drinkers.
American stock	7.7	15.3		23.0
Irish born	11.5	7.7		19.2
Irish, second generation	17.2	11.5	9.7	28.7
German	1.9	3 8		5.7
Colored	6.1	7.7		13.8
Totals	44.4	46.0	9.7	90.4

THREE DISTRICTS, TWO RURAL AND ONE CITY, CONSOLIDATED.

Origin.	Total Venal of Each Stock.	Percentage of Venal.	Temperate.	Total Abstainers.[4]	Total Temperate and Abstainers.[5]	Intemperate.	Drunkards.	Total Intemperate and Drunkards.	Shiftless.[4]	Arrested or Imprisoned.
American stock	9.5	55.6	4.1	27.6	4.3	51.2	77.1	56.9	100.0	69.2
Colored[2]	100.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
English born	3.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0
English, second generation	5.9	0.3	5.9	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French born[2]	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French, second generation[3]	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French Canadian born[3]	100.0	0.9	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
French Canadian, second generation[3]	66.6	0.6	66.6	0.0	66.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
German born	13.6	5.3	8.3	0.0	6.4	50.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	100.0
German, second generation	12.7	2.8	3.4	100.0	5.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	100.0
Irish born	16.8	13.6	6.4	100.0	7.2	60.0	78.9	69.2	0.0	71.4
Irish, second generation	17.0	17.3	4.4	100.0	5.1	67.7	86.4	74.1	100.0	100.0
Italian born[3]	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Italian, second generation[3]	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nova Scotian born[3]	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nova Scotian, second generation[3]	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch born	4.8	0.3	5.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch, second generation	18.2	0.6	10.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Swede born[3]	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Swede, second generation[3]	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other foreign born[2]	22.2	0.6	33.3	0.0	28.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other foreign, second generation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unknown[2]	11.1	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Totals	11.3	100.0	4.5	34.2	4.9	54.0	79.0	61.0	100.0	77.8

[1] The percentages represent the proportion the class bears to the total of all venals. [2] Two districts. [3] One district. [4] Two districts. [5] Temperate from three districts; total abstainers from two.

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lacking for the other percentages. It must be remembered, consequently, that the figures represent the proportion between each class and the total of all venal, whereas in the other tables the proportion is between the number of venal in each class and the total of voters in that class. This last has been preferred as being fairer, though the other is the more usual. It seems to me more just and useful to know, for example, what proportion of American, or English, or Irish voters are venal than to know what proportion they bear respectively either to the total of venal or to the total of voters; though these, too, have been given under columns 1 and 2 in previous tables.

The consolidated table, which has been made up from the first three tables, fairly represents the State, I think, so far as the rural factor is concerned, but not so fairly on the city side; because the single ward here included has less than ten per cent of venal, while the city has nearly fourteen. Moreover, the status of some of the classes would be materially changed if the whole city were included. There were all but no colored, French, Italian, and Swede voters in these precincts. And it happened that the few colored were all venal, while none of the others were. Now, it is certain that the colored voters are by no means all venal[1] and that some of the stocks mentioned are. And this would appear if a larger area were covered. But as to the more prevalent national stocks, it is probable that the rank here established would not be far from the general truth, though the intervals would almost undoubtedly be much altered. The specialist in sociology and politics will probably study the details. But the general reader will be chiefly interested in the totals. From these it appears that out of several thousand voters, taken not far from equally from city and country, one hundred and thirteen out of every thousand were venal. And of these venal, five hundred and fifty-six in every (assumed) thousand were of American stock; one hundred and seventy-three Irish of the second generation, one hundred and thirty-six Irish born; twenty-eight Germans second generation, fifty-three German born; three are English second generation, six English born; six Scotch second generation, three Scotch born; six colored; six French Canadian second generation, nine French Canadian first generation; and six of other foreign birth. It further appears that out of every (assumed) thousand of intemperate

[1] Probably not far from three-fourths of them in this city are. They have distinct political preferences, but these need to be confirmed or can on occasion be overcome by the use of money. This is fully comprehended by both parties.

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voters, five hundred and forty were venal; in every thousand drunkards, seven hundred and ninety were venal; in every thousand shiftless, all were venal; in every thousand total abstainers, three hundred and forty-two were venal; while in every thousand temperate voters, forty-five only were venal. This latter is again a case where the actual numbers represented on the side of the total abstainers may be so small as to give misleading percentages. The final fact is, however, liable to no such correction. Out of every thousand voters known to have been arrested or imprisoned—chiefly for drunkenness and its attendant crimes—seven hundred and seventy-eight were venal.

In the Board of Trade address percentages of venality and ranges of prices were given for fourteen towns. I have since obtained seven more towns, covering fifteen polling-districts. The entire twenty-one will now be given; and in order to illustrate a point of curious interest, they will be separated into two categories according as they have lost or gained in population during the decade 1880–90:

TWENTY-ONE TOWNS.

Losing Towns.	Percentage.	Range of Prices.	Gaining Towns.	Percentage.	Range of Prices.
1	35.0 to 50.0	$2.00 to $15.00	2	35.0 to 50.0	$2.00 to $15.00
3	35.0 to 50.0	2.00 to 15.00	6	12.0	2.00 to 20.00
4	35.0 to 50.0	2.00 to 15.00	7	15.0	2.00 to 20.00
5	7.0	2.00 to 15.00	8	3.0	5.00 to 10.00
9	10.0	2.00 to 15.00	11	20.0	2.00 to 15.00
10	5.0	5.00 to 10.00	12	3.0	5.00 to 10.00
13	70.0	2.00 to 15.00	15	21.0	5.00 to 20.00
14	4.0	5.00 to 10.00	17	14.0	1.50 to 15.00
16	29.0	Not given.			
18	25.0	2.00 to 50.00			
19	28.0	2.00 to 15.00			
20	35.0 to 50.0	2.00 to 20.00			
21	17.0	2.00 to 15.00			
Venal average	20.5	$2.00 to $50.00	Venal average	12.7	$1.50 to $20.00

Venal average for all the twenty-one towns, 15.9 per cent.

This seems to show that the decaying towns have more venality than the others, and also that the prices range higher. There are wards in every city and districts in every growing town where there is as much or nearly as much corruption as in any of the country towns. But in general I think it will be found that where the soil is poorest, money most rare, the conditions of life least favorable to enterprise and mental activity, there is more bribery—and this in spite of the fact that there is more drunkenness, though perhaps not more

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intemperance, in the city. Still, we are here, as everywhere, reminded that the offence is individual and follows the laws of all disease in respect to contact and infection. The average health of a city or town may be high, while that of particular neighborhoods in it is low.

That this theory is true of venality the following will show. In one of the above towns there is a precinct in which the venal percentage is only fourteen and two-tenths, while in the other it is thirty and nine-tenths. In the first of these there are only three groups of father and son and four of two brothers, representing but thirty-six per cent of the purchasable element there. In the second there were five groups of father and son, one of father and two sons, nine of two brothers, one of four brothers, four of nephew and uncle, representing thus sixty-five per cent of all the venal. In another town the percentage of venality to the whole number of voters in the different school districts ranges as follows: 11.3; 9.1; 6; 2.7; 2.9; 0.6; 3.3; 15.7; 0; 19.2. By families there were eleven groups of two and three of three.

In one city precinct above tabulated there were twenty-one groups with identical family names and suggestion of relationship; of these there were known to be four groups of father and one son, three of father and two sons, four of two brothers, one of three brothers, one of uncle and one nephew, one of uncle and two nephews. In the same house, or within two doors on the same side of the street, were twenty-nine groups representing sixty-three per cent of the whole number of cases. I call them cases: the parallelism is so manifest. There were eighteen streets where there was not a single case; there was one where forty per cent of the voters were marked purchasable, and the informant remarked sententiously, "I can get about all of them on that street."

The disease may have been first introduced by the direct action of the briber.[1] But in its present stage it is propagated, I am convinced, chiefly by contact with the infected. It first appeared, within the memory of men well advanced in years, thirty to forty years ago. "Old A—, one of the village good-for-nothings," so related one informant, "had always been hired by old man B— to 'fix up' his place

[1] A veteran in politics has related to me circumstantially the first instance in which it appeared, within his memory, as a disturbing element within the limits of his own party. It was about thirty years ago. The offender was at once betrayed, confronted with his treason, and reduced to a suitable state of contrition. The thing is now one of the most formidable dangers in party experience.

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on election day; and it was understood as a matter of course that 'voting straight' was to be among the day's chores. This went on for a long while, till presently they began to extend the thing, and I remember well how mad C—, of our town, was when he first heard of it. He raged around at a great rate and refused to vote on account of it. Within four years you couldn't get him to vote without paying him." A city informant relates:

"There's one fellow who would have knocked you down, ten years ago, if you had approached him; and now he comes regularly for his pay. It seems only to be necessary to have it go out that 'there is money in it this time,' and the tribe of the venal swarm toward it like bees to a sugar-barrel. One tells another and the news spreads like wildfire. It is the same law and instinct which make the procuring of undeserved alms and pensions so catching and so dangerous. 'The money is there; it is contributed by rich people who won't feel it or by candidates who will get it all back, and more, out of their offices, and I may as well have it as anybody.'"

This last table also establishes the percentage of the venal for twenty-one towns, including one city, at 15.9. Since the proportion between the city and the country population included is as nearly as may be that of the whole State,[1] it follows that we have here a basis for an estimate of the aggregate of venality in the entire State. If this be so, there are twenty-six thousand three hundred and ninety-four purchasable voters in Connecticut. I am in no position to affirm the absolute accuracy of this estimate, simply because my facts are only from one-eighth of the towns in three of the eight counties. But if analysis of samples taken without selection from the whole is ever conclusive concerning the entire mass, I see not why this may not be called a fairly reliable estimate. And surely twenty thousand would allow a sufficiently wide margin for possible error.

In another article the following points will be touched upon: the political complexion of the purchasable element; methods and cost of bribery; where the money comes from; how the matter is looked upon by the briber and the bribed; possible remedies for the evil.

J. J. McCook.

[1] Out of a total of 746,258 in population, 370,703 are in cities of 10,000 and over. Connecticut "Register and Manual," 1891, pp. 454, 455.

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THE LESSON OF HOMESTEAD: A REMEDY FOR LABOR TROUBLES.

THE disturbance occasioned by the differences between the Carnegie companies and the large bodies of organized workingmen employed by them has extended to the whole country. It has been felt not merely in the derangement of dependent industries and of business in general, but as a menace to the common peace. A great Commonwealth has had its entire available military force on duty at large expense to the men and the State, for a long period, and at every passing moment the general Government has been liable to be called upon, as it actually was in a similar but less stubborn affair in Idaho. It, with some of its specially dramatic and significant incidents, such as the strange battle between the private armed forces of the respective parties, the attempted assassination of the chairman of the Carnegie companies, and the unusual punishment of a private soldier for the utterance of a mere sentiment, unaccompanied by any act, has attracted the most profound and anxious attention of the entire civilized world. Occurring, as it did, in this well-ordered Republic, regulated by law, in a land where the people themselves are supposed to be sovereign and to possess the power to right their own wrongs, it is necessarily accepted as a sign or symptom of a fatal vice in our system of government, or in the laws relating to such matters, which promises even wider disaster unless a remedy shall be found.

The question raised by the bloody encounter between the organized workingmen and the embodied Pinkertons on the Monongahela is one which cannot be put aside until there shall be found a satisfactory answer to it. It is but a single incident of a long and terrible warfare, whose persistent barbarity is the darkest reproach of the otherwise peaceful age in which we live. For the settlement of all ordinary private disputes, legal and effectual methods are duly provided. Murder, arson, pillage, and rapine in all other shapes are repressed and punished without any draft upon the reserved forces of the State and without a general disturbance of peaceful communities. Even war is prevented by a gradually crystallizing system of arbitration, which, sustained by enlightened public opinion the world over, has acquired

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almost the authority of public law. Here, only, in the controversies between large employers and great masses of workingmen, in those controversies which in the last quarter of a century have reddened the streets of every great European city with blood, and which have shamed this country in many instances, the state stands practically aloof, permitting each separate difference to degenerate, it may be, into a cruel and unequal combat between the capitalist and the workingman, until the moment arrives to crush the latter down in his tracks, to take away his arms, to evict him from his home, and to set his family in the road, in the name of law and order!

Let us look more particularly at the case at Homestead. There was little or no reason to anticipate such an outbreak at the time it took place. The intelligence of organized labor, realizing the futility of strikes, discouraged them; and the intelligence of the capitalist class, summing up the inevitable losses of such conflicts and finding a certain degree of security in dealing with the responsible officials of associated labor, was apparently more inclined to justice and moderation. It seemed as if the time was approaching when the antagonists in struggles of this nature would find a way to prevent them, out of mere respect for the colossal power of one another. The Missouri-Pacific strike, the New York Central strike, even the portentous riots of 1877, when we narrowly escaped universal collision between the forces of organized society and the aggrieved classes, had been forgotten, and we were drifting calmly along, complacently estimating the increase of our National wealth, counting the deposits in the banks, pointing to the "poor boys" who were becoming millionaires by the hundreds as the best evidence of our wonderful prosperity, felicitating ourselves upon the prospect of another good crop and the possibility of a small percentage of the mortgages being paid, when the red sky above Homestead, in the very heart of this hollow prosperity, where the "poor boys" were rolling up, more rapidly than anywhere else, the millions afforded them by tariff bounties, summoned us to look not merely upon a local scene of blood and misery, present and anticipated, but to go to the bottom of our paternal industrial system, to consider the cause of the man whose brawny hands were on the machines turning out the vast product of which we were so proud, and to determine whether or not he also was worthy of the protection of the law.

Has the workman made this situation at Homestead in pure wantonness? Has he imperilled the livelihood of wife and child for any light

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or trivial reason? Had he any legal recourse for the settlement of what he deemed his wrongs? What had he, then, done which put him beyond the pale of law when his request for reasonable concession in wages was refused; when he was shut out; when he was told that he must abandon the right of association, which he held most sacred, and which alone in all the controversies of the past had secured him any consideration, and must thereby disarm himself of all power of self-protection if he would keep his home and work at that place and in the only trade he knew? Where was he, with the thousands like him and in the same evil case, to turn for legal relief? To what tribunal was he to resort for the adjustment of his rights and the redress of his wrongs? Was there any adequate tribunal provided by the highly civilized state, which owed him peace and security as much as it owed them to the proprietors of the fortified mills, to the service of which he had adapted his life and his labor? Shall the complaints of men in his condition be met forever only with the policeman's bludgeon or the militiaman's musket?

The very spot is sanguinary. At or near Homestead Braddock crossed to slaughter in the tangled thickets where the Edgar Thompson steel works stand to-day. The latter place, in full view of Homestead, was the rendezvous of the so-called "Whiskey Insurgents'" army; and it was here, all along the banks of this romantic river, that Alexander Hamilton's brutal expedient of "terror" as a principal means of "strong government" was put in practice, and bands of military marauders were sent out at midnight to raid the peaceful farmsteads, to kidnap unoffending citizens amid the shrieks of their families, and hale them, with blows and sabre-cuts, before a lawless mixed commission. Both Homestead and Braddock's were lighted up by the fierce glare of the fires kindled by the riots of '77, and heard the musketry which did the slaughter of that day. And now again it became the scene of a conflict more portentous than any of them.

Homestead is but one of the great establishments of the Carnegie companies. Opposite is Braddock's, to which must be added Duquesne, Beaver Falls, and others. With the business of the steel companies has recently been incorporated Mr. Frick's more or less complete monopoly of coke-production in the bituminous-coal regions near by; and that gentleman has become the omnipotent single manager of the whole, employing from thirteen thousand to twenty thousand men. The original plant has grown to unprecedented proportions, until the fortunes of the proprietors, united with the fortunes of

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a few others like themselves, actually constitute a menace to the free institutions of the country, contributing as they do fabulous sums for election purposes in order to keep in power a party which shapes public policies in their interests as against the interests of all other classes. Nobody disputes their title to this wealth or their right to use it as they see fit, within the limits of the general public safety. It is certain, however, that the greater part of it is but the tribute which iniquitous tariff laws have enabled them to levy upon the domestic consumption of their product. They have, during a long period, enjoyed an enormously profitable monopoly. The State has stood over their vast accumulations and their huge operations with all its police power affording them every possible security. But neither the Union, which granted them the unconstitutional bounties, nor the Commonwealth, which gives them its peace, has imposed upon them any obligation to share with their unskilled laborers or even their operatives ever so small a proportion of the joint earnings of the capital and labor employed in the business. Accordingly when the men look out upon these vast establishments and note the swelling millions rolling into the account of the proprietors under favor of government, they feel that they have a strong moral right to an adjustment of wages which shall not be dictated entirely from the employers' side. And moral right in the common mind is very readily transmuted into legal right.

At Homestead the men were grievously discontented with certain new arrangements proposed by the company. They belonged to the "Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers," one of the most conservative of the labor organizations. The company refused to sign the scale presented by the association, but announced, instead, an arbitrary reduction of wages, on the ground that new machinery increased the earning power of the men, thus taking to itself all the advantage of invention and experience, while denying it to the other side. When the men came to remonstrate, through their usual committees and in their usual orderly manner, they were met with the ultimatum: Accept the reduction, abandon your organization, and submit yourselves in every particular to the arrangements which our interests shall suggest, and you may work in these mills, but upon no other terms whatever! There was no strike; no time was given for a strike. Going about consulting and planning with their officers and committees, seeking conferences with the company, and otherwise anxiously endeavoring to strengthen their position in the controversy, though doubtless contemplating a strike as a last resort, the gates

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were suddenly shut in their faces, and instead of a strike on the part of the men, there was a lock-out on the part of the company. What followed might readily have been anticipated. It is reasonable to suppose that the company did both anticipate and desire it. The doom thus pronounced upon three thousand men and their families could not fail to alarm and exasperate the victims beyond peaceable endurance. It meant practical slavery in those mills, or migration, with all that migration implies. But they did only what their fellows in the absence of just and legal methods of settlement have done elsewhere. They resisted as best they could the introduction of non-union labor into the works from which they had been locked out and which had been insultingly fortified against them in advance. It was not wonderful that non-union men, however urgent their necessities, feared to venture in, or that the sheriff of Allegheny County was unabe to raise a *posse* to protect them. Not only everybody in Homestead, but almost everybody in Allegheny County sympathized with the locked-out men.

But the situation was not an especially threatening one. Many such have existed for a long time without serious injury to life or property and without other loss than that occasioned by the idleness of men and machinery. But the class of "protected gentlemen" to which Messrs. Carnegie and Frick belong appear to be, of all human beings, the most impressed with the awful sanctity of their individual right to "do as they please with their own." These gentlemen have been apparently, throughout this trouble, unable to apprehend any other principle. It seems to be not only uppermost in their minds, but to fill their minds wholly, to the exclusion of any other consideration. To all appeals for accommodation; to all remonstrance and argument; to the county of Allegheny, looking forward to an enormous bill of damages; to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, hurrying eight thousand soldiers from their daily avocations to protect them, at a cost of twenty-five thousand dollars a day; to the people of the United States, who gave them their monopoly and stuffed their pockets with unearned money, to the three thousand operatives at Homestead; and to the women and children whose homes are practically confiscated over their heads and who must follow their husbands and fathers into exile, they answer only that they will do as they like with their own They will have their pound of flesh; they will take it next the heart, they will crush the "Amalgamated"; they will employ no union men; they will pocket the largest profits—

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but they will pay the wages that please them and entertain no question about them.

But how was this programme to be executed? There was no disorder at the mills. The locked-out men lay quietly around them, and the barbed-wire fences and the electric batteries and the hot-water pipes were all useless. There was a dead calm over the whole place. But no non-union man would go near. The sheriff was powerless; and the public opinion of the county, of the State, and of the world was against the proposition of the private owners to use their own—as the sultan of Muscat or the king of Dahomey or an Apache Indian might use his—without the smallest regard to common humanity. In this emergency they turned to a power beyond the territory and unknown to the laws of the State.

The Pinkertons have been compared to the Hessians, but the comparison is unfair to the latter. They resemble more the free companies of the middle ages, recruited by freebooters for freebooting and their services sold to the highest bidder. The agency is a natural outgrowth of existing conditions. It, more than anything else, illustrates the barbarity of our methods, or rather our lack of methods, in such contingencies. We encourage the association of capital; we foster manufacturing monopolies with subsidies; we permit railways to discriminate in their favor; we allow them to combine in trusts; we drive masses of men, skilled and unskilled, to these centres of work; we induce them by public policy, as exhibited in discriminating laws, to adapt their lives and their labor to these favored industries—and then, when disputes arise between the capitalists engaged in semi-public enterprises and the men employed by them, we allow the fight to go on as it will until the general peace is endangered, and finally turn in the power of the State to crush the weaker. But in intermediate stages of the contest the employer must rely upon his own or hired force if he chooses to employ force. It is therefore much to his convenience and frequently to his pleasure to be able to make a draft upon a private standing army duly disciplined and weaponed and open for engagement in any quarrel, and so to make private war on his own account and in his own way. This was what was done when three hundred Pinkertons, armed with Winchester rifles, were secretly sent up the Monongahela, but the sheriff of Allegheny was left as powerless as ever, and the calm at Homestead after the battle was deeper and more ominous than before.

The governor had held off as long as he dared. Any action

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whatever on his part must necessarily determine the contest, and determine it against the men. But it was a strained and painful situation. Another onset of the Pinkertons, which might be expected at any moment, would doubtless cause the loss of many lives and widen the breach instead of closing it. For how much of the blood thus shed and of the injury thus inflicted would he be accountable if he should fail to interpose in time? He seemed to have no alternative, after the formal demand of the sheriff, except to call out the troops, and, as a matter of fact, this unavoidable action of the Executive settled the particular dispute between the locked-out Homestead men and their recent employers; and thenceforward the latter could do as they would with their own. The non-union men would go in if they chose, and the armed Pinkertons would follow them if it pleased the company and the governor of Pennsylvania should permit it. The men at Homestead were helpless and hopeless. There was but one quarter to which they could look for lawful succor. Their fellows in the other Carnegie mills, numbering many thousands, might go out of their own volition, instead of being locked out, as was the case with the Homesteaders, and thus reduce the contest to a question of endurance on a larger scale, as it was at Homestead before the disastrous appearance of the Pinkertons and the fateful arrival of the troops.

The Homestead situation is liable to be reproduced at any other place in the country where multitudes of men are assembled in the conduct of large enterprises. The people of the United States and their governments, State and Federal, are in danger of being plunged into violent conflicts, not of their own making, and in which they have no interest other than the maintenance of the public peace. As to the duty of the State in regard to them, their prevention and repression, or the restraint and punishment of those who cause them, even enlightened opinions seem to differ very widely. The governor of Pennsylvania has shown by his action what he deems the duty of that State under the circumstances and in the present state of the law. He had no choice but to enforce the laws as he found them on the statute-book, and no power with which to do it, in the face of a turbulent community, less warlike than the militia. He might—I believe that he should—have preceded, or at least have accompanied, the order to the militia by a proclamation warning the discontented men to obey the letter of the law, reciting the personal consequences of further disobedience and the necessity of stern enforcement, and at the same time commanding the armed Pinkerton forces and all other

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armed bodies, except only the sheriff's *posse*, to disperse or to retire instantly beyond the limits of the Commonwealth, whose peace they threatened. Such a proclamation might have prevented further conflicts between the Pinkertons and the Homestead men, and it might have saved the people of the State the expense and peril of military operations. But the governor doubtless had better information, and he may have been well assured that only the actual presence of an overwhelming force would restore peace and prevent bloodshed. He could not pause to consider the merits of the dispute on either side or to weigh the hardships which might ensue to one or the other.

But the duty of the State in the large sense is not limited to the suppression of mobs. It is confronted by the higher duty of preventing mobs, of depriving mobs of all decent excuse for existence, and of removing the grievances which in labor controversies are alleged as their occasion. Whether these grievances exist or not must be submitted to some other arbitrament than that of clubs and guns, hot water, electric batteries, and dynamite, in the very near future, if any peace is to be kept in the land. The steadily increasing concentration of workingmen in large numbers in mills and mines and at railway terminals has changed all previous conditions. Capital massed on one side and men massed on the other make a situation to which neither the common law nor the statute law of our foregoers is at all adequate. The principles of those laws are as applicable and as effectual to-day as ever, but they need elaboration and the support of new machinery. A dispute between an employer and eighteen thousand men—the number said to be in the service of the Carnegie companies—who with their families make sixty or seventy thousand souls, cannot be satisfactorily disposed of by ordinary judicial procedure. While executives, courts, and juries are confessedly unable or unwilling to cope with unlawful combinations of capital, how can we expect them to deal promptly, successfully, and justly with vast multitudes of aggrieved laborers, too often technically at fault? Is the spectacle of trusts and gigantic conspiracies of corporations overriding constitutions and laws unchecked and practically unopposed calculated to encourage scrupulously legal and orderly conduct on the part of men situated as were these at Homestead? The danger and the damage to the community and ultimately to the individual citizens who are oppressed and pillaged by such combinations are infinitely greater than any to be apprehended from the disorders of which workingmen, organized or unorganized, have ever been guilty. But in the one case

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the State defends itself with writs and bills in equity; in the other with its rifles. Why not the writs in both or the rifles in both? Why the summary suppression here and the tender toleration there? Because the corporate offenders are powerful, often more powerful to command and to corrupt than a weakly-officered State to resist, and do not hesitate to employ special privileges to harass and plunder the very people who granted them. Ambitious politicians too frequently prefer to find a specious way to serve them rather than to oppose them; and the workingmen clearly understand the difference in the treatment of the two kinds of law-breaking and the reason of it.

Overgrown and transgressing corporations thus offending against the public, which created and protects them, should be driven back within the strictest limits of their charters, or their charters forfeited, and at the same time a new class of corporations in the interests of labor might be invited and encouraged in American States. Suppose, for instance, that the "Amalgamated Association," or, to present a smaller subdivision, the iron and steel workers of Homestead, incorporated for the purpose of furnishing labor. The men, who lately imagined themselves efficiently organized for all proper purposes, and who have been so rudely undeceived, are members of it. This corporation contracts with Mr. Frick for a given amount of work of a given character. The corporation deals with the men; Mr. Frick does not. It collects wages and in turn pays dividends. It employs and dismisses, or admits to its membership and expels. It hears and redresses grievances. Its existence manifestly renders such outbreaks as the one under consideration almost an impossibility, since the men manage their own corporation and their own business in their own way. It is a counterpart of the capitalist corporation which confronts it. It will sue and be sued; it will collect damages or pay them. It will prosper or not, as other corporations do.

Would such a thing be feasible? Of course not while our one-sided laws remain as they are, while the aggressions of a moneyed corporation are unrestrained and those of a labor association are crushed out in blood. But the State can make it feasible. It can make this labor corporation for all the purposes of its creation quite as responsible as the Carnegie companies, and it can regulate the conduct of both classes of corporations and provide methods for the settlement of disputes which would relieve the sheriff and the militia of a large part, if not the whole, of their disagreeable duties.

The first objection to this corporation is that it would have no

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means wherewith to answer in damages for breaches of its contracts. But it can be given means by a provision in its charter requiring that a sufficient percentage of its whole earnings shall be withheld from distribution and invested in public securities, never to be disturbed or expended except for that purpose. The second objection is that its membership would be fitful and shifting. But would it be necessarily more so than the stockholders of other corporations? The latter usually, it is true, pay in money; but the former would pay in solid labor, of which money is but a measure. Such a corporation, if managed with one-half the conservative skill and judgment that have marked the administration of the affairs of the "Amalgamated Association," could well be trusted to arrange the details of its business satisfactorily to all its components and to those with whom it might contract.

But the State has not discharged its duty by merely granting a charter to a labor corporation, with even the most careful and elaborate provisions for its safe management. It must also provide for the peaceful settlement of disputes between the aggregations of capital on the one side and the aggregations of men on the other. It must do this not only in justice to the parties immediately concerned, but in justice to itself. Provisions for arbitration, provisions for speedy litigation in default of arbitration, provisions for preserving conditions against radical changes while the legal settlement is in progress, provisions against call-outs, lock-outs, and strikes in the interim, and, above all, provisions against evictions of workmen and the introduction of armed forces—these are the outlines which the wisdom of a legislature bent upon a fair solution of the most difficult problem and the removal of the gravest danger of modern times might be expected to fill in with details that would not defeat the great object in view.

Many large employers prefer to deal with labor organizations, loose as they are, under present conditions, rather than with the individual men; and some of the associations have been of incalculable benefit in preserving agreeable and profitable relations between employers and employed. The "Amalgamated Association" has been one of these, and its management has in an unusual degree commanded the confidence of the public and of all those having business with it. The labor corporation suggested would be that perfection of organization which would best serve the rights and interests of all concerned. It would bring to the front the best character and the highest talents on the labor side, and the responsible manufacturing or mining corporation would be able to buy its labor from an equally responsible cor-

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poration having it to sell, and to carry on its business with an almost absolute certainty that the contracts between them would be faithfully and voluntarily observed, and, if not, would be readily enforced. This, with the obligation upon each not to strike or to lock out or to evict until a question properly raised and pending should be judicially determined, would probably save the public from these gigantic disturbances, which shake the whole State and therefore sternly demand the public intervention of the State for their suppression.

Is it worth trying? Is the public peace worth maintaining? Is it better that American operatives and miners and other classes of laborers too numerous to mention should go on, their hearts swelling with a bitter sense of wrong and continuously on the very verge of turbulent outbreak; or that they should have legal justice, with appropriate tribunals as wide open to them as to those whom they too frequently are compelled to regard as their conscienceless adversaries? Shall we go on forever in this brutish old way, standing off from these dangerous disputes until they degenerate into lock-outs and strikes and riots, only to interpose with the crushing power of the State when it is too late to consider the merits of any of the questions involved, and the naked and cruel letter of the deficient law must be enforced without inquiry and without mercy?

It is true that some of the greater employers, and among them those most highly "protected," deny the right of the public to regulate their business in any way whatever. They would naturally prefer to pursue unmolested the course which has so marvellously enriched them at the common expense of consumers and workingmen. They have cultivated the feudal spirit until it has become the master-passion. They will be naturally reluctant, like the barons—which in many respects they are—to yield the privilege of private warfare. They will, beyond question, prefer the Pinkertons and the soldiers to the milder and fairer methods of the proposed law. They will insist upon their alleged right to use their property precisely as they see fit and to make any contract which seems to them good. They are doubtless perfectly sincere and conscientious in this remarkable claim, and the almost ludicrous solemnity with which it is made and repeated seems to have imposed upon some minds besides their own. But it will not stand a moment's examination.

They are utterly mistaken in their first and fundamental assumption. No man in civilized society can do what he pleases with his own. He cannot do what he likes with his own skin if a public

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necessity requires a different disposition of it. His blood and his bones belong to his country. They are taken when his country needs them. His property, no less than his life, is held at the call of the State. But recently eight thousand men were taken bodily from their daily avocations and their comfortable homes and encamped upon the hills about Homestead, without in the least consulting their individual pleasure. Mr. Carnegie's business and the business of other men situated like him challenge public regulation by reason of their very immensity, to say nothing of the public contributions to them by the unjust operation of monopoly tariff laws. If not as clearly subject to such regulation as common carrying, they are certainly as plainly so as money-lending, education of children, poison-vending, powder-making, and hundreds of others. If the law can prohibit Mr. Carnegie from running a "pluck-me store" in connection with his business, it can prohibit him from doing anything else which is unjust and unreasonable, and especially anything which provokes or tends toward a breach of the peace. If the State chooses to say him nay and to lay down the limits of his freedom, he can have no right whatever to go on dealing with three thousand men here, and five thousand men there, and ten thousand men elsewhere, according to his private impulses. All private property is held and enjoyed subject to the public safety; and the contention that great plants like that of the Carnegie companies, built up mainly by public bounties, are exempt from the rule would be nothing short of monstrous.

To this proposed regulation, therefore, of the transactions between employers and their workingmen there could be no reasonable opposition. The State, which upon all established theories of our free institutions is supreme, can never be said to have discharged its sovereign duty until it has opened the way to peaceable and orderly settlement of such disputes and compelled all parties concerned to walk in it.

CHAUNCEY F. BLACK.

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CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES: PUBLICITY AS A CURE FOR CORRUPTION.

MUCH good fruit was borne to us by the Civil War: the extinction of slavery, the development of the National idea and spirit, the increase of our credit in the world at large, the creation of National courage and of an heroic fibre in our American manhood. But there is the reverse picture: war in our case, as in all others, left an immense heritage of loss and evil, much of which fails of due consideration or estimate. It trod ruthlessly in its red wine-press the finest moral life of the Nation; and who can calculate the precise extent to which we still suffer from the withdrawn energies and extinct moral forces of the young men who offered themselves a willing sacrifice at their country's call? The war gave us an enormous increase of the gambler's spirit in business, with its consequent speculations, false aims and methods, and their dark train of embezzlements and defalcations. It also fostered seeds of a serious corruption already existing in our political life and planted fresh ones. The emergency which it presented was so extreme, its importance was so overwhelming, that men on either side of the great question felt that everything short of the main issue must be sacrificed.

In such a crisis neither men nor methods could be scrutinized too closely; indeed, the very lack of time in the swift march of tremendous events forbade such scrutiny. The result was that a certain spirit of moral recklessness, a carelessness as to just how things were done and by whom parties were led, was begotten in the people and has survived the era of the war. This was accompanied by extreme public lassitude which naturally followed the excessive exertions and sacrifices of war-time. The conditions were wholly favorable to the growth of corrupt political aims and practices. Added to this was the existence of an extreme party spirit, which caused party lines to be drawn very rigidly. Men still felt that it would not be safe to grant the enemy anything; it was enough, under the circumstances, if a man were a good Republican or a good Democrat, or even if he professed to be such, to intrust him with almost any amount of political

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power that he had the hardihood to demand for himself. But further than this, the advent of the Civil War indirectly aided the growth of certain corruptions in American politics by rendering any serious consideration of the false system under which the civil service of the Government was generally conducted impossible. It planted fresh seeds of evil by leading a class of shrewd and unscrupulous politicians to believe that their leadership and methods would be permanently tolerated by the people. The country was forced to settle the paramount question of its own existence before even the vital matter of its internal health and soundness could be attended to.

The issue of the war is settled, and it is becoming more and more apparent to thoughtful men that no question before the country today is of greater National importance than that of civil-service reform, the question whether the public funds represented by the salaries of the one hundred and twenty-five thousand offices of the civil service, aggregating sixty million dollars annual expenditure, shall be used in the interest of the people, or whether they shall continue to furnish an immense bribery fund by which a small but highly organized class of professional politicians shall acquire and maintain their power. Closely related to this question, and only secondary in importance to it, is that of the undue or illicit use of money in connection with elections. This is the era of administrative reform in the United States, and groups of our younger men, in various parts of the country, are getting more and more earnestly and systematically to work toward the solution of this problem. Their first effort is directed toward a clear formulation of the essential nature of the evils to be attacked and of the methods necessary for their removal. Their second aims to convey to the people at large a full understanding of the importance of the issue involved, and to arouse them to a sense of their individual obligations for the performance of the work by which a better and sounder condition of affairs is to be reached. It is the battle for good government in which we are engaged.

A glance at certain features distinguishing political committees, and at National political committees especially—since they are most conspicuous and in some respects most interesting—will furnish valuable material for the practical student of American politics who believes that honest and business-like methods should mark the conduct of public affairs, that all cause for scandal and legitimate complaint may be removed, and yet that equally vigorous and more intelligent practical work for legitimate party ends may be accomplished by those to

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whom the executive tasks of the various political parties are intrusted. Political committees as at present constituted represent very imperfectly their popular constituency. A committee is a small body chosen by any larger assemblage to execute any particular business in which the assemblage is concerned. Its powers are delegated to it for that purpose, and it should report specifically as to the work which it has done. It should be in a very positive sense representative of the body from which it derives its powers. But political campaign committees, whether State or National, render no adequate report as to their transactions or expenditures, such as they should manifestly be required to do, and represent far too often the worst and most unscrupulous elements of the party, instead of its best and most trusted. Secrecy and irresponsibility form the most objectionable features of their work. These should be made the points of the reform attack, since in them lurk the various kinds of political corruptions which have steadily and alarmingly increased during late years. In this regard it is but just to blame both parties equally.

The collection of a large sum of money for campaign purposes is a matter of primary importance with a National campaign committee, as according to existing political methods victory is supposed to depend more upon this element of strength than upon any other. The wealthy supporters of the party must be visited by some member of the committee who is a skilful pleader, and made to feel that the salvation of the party or the welfare of his own business interests depends upon the amount of his donation in the coming struggle. Such efforts are often very successful, but were never attended with more brilliant results than in the Presidential campaign of 1888, when Mr. Wanamaker, of Philadelphia, the present Postmaster-General, raised an immense sum of money for the use of the Republican National Campaign Committee. As the political temperature rises with the progress of the campaign and men become more and more intensely interested in the issue, an appeal is often made for funds to the general public, either through the instrumentality of the press or by personal application. It seems unaccountable to a disinterested observer that the many worthy men, accustomed to the strictest regularity of business method in their own affairs, should not feel enough interest in knowing what becomes of their money to demand some sort of a report as to the precise use to which it is put by those to whom it is confided. But political committees composed of the regular politicians publish no report to the public of their receipts or expenditures.

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After a recent local contest in Philadelphia, an Independent political committee published a sworn statement of its accounts, in the hope that by so doing the way might be prepared for the adoption of a law in Pennsylvania making such action obligatory upon all similar committees.

The work of the National committees in the campaign of 1888 was in some respects the most remarkable and interesting ever performed in the country. It was typical of the changed condition of political methods, and showed the extraordinary development within recent years of the peculiar methods of the machine leaders. The struggle was felt to be one of vital importance, and both sides spared no exertion to win. The Republicans did not underestimate the strength of the enemy. Mr. Cleveland had conducted a generally successful administration and had developed great popular enthusiasm. The country was awakening from the illusion that a Democratic administration meant financial disaster. But on the other hand, the manufacturers and all strong protectionists were in the most favorable condition of mind to receive an appeal for liberal financial assistance in rendering effective a campaign in which the great issue was protection or free trade. Mr. Cleveland's bold and unmistakable utterances as to his tariff-reform views gave them the most lively anticipations of the result should the eagle of victory perch on his standard.

From the single standpoint of success the twelve members of the executive committee of the Republican National Committee were well chosen; Senator Quay was its chairman and its inspiring genius and in him was its great strength. He undertook his duties with the well-earned reputation for experience, sagacity, and the utmost adroitness in the employment of every means known to the machine politicians for carrying elections. At that time the notorious State-treasury scandal with which Mr. Quay's name has since become linked had not been exposed by the New York "World" and the "Evening Post," or he might not have been able to retain the position in which he attained such distinction and from which subsequently public clamor forced him to retire. Mr. Quay's public career had made him wholly distrusted and discredited, but his reputation for skill in diving into the depths of political waters and fetching brilliant results to the surface was assured. Through the efforts of Mr. Quay the services of Mr. Wanamaker were secured to assist in the financial part of the campaign. In an interview with Mr. Wanamaker, published in a Philadelphia newspaper last April, Mr. Wanamaker gives a very inter-

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esting account of the circumstances under which he undertook the work of raising money and of the methods employed. After a careful consideration of the question as to whether or not he should undertake the task, he determined to do so if the Committee would consent to follow his suggestions. In reply to his interviewer's query as to what these suggestions were, Mr. Wanamaker says:

"'I wanted an advisory board to the National Committee made up of business men, and a treasurer appointed for that board; then I wanted an executive committee taken out of that advisory board and limited in number, and with power to overlook not only the raising of that money, but its expenditure by the National Committee. The plans were acceded to.' 'How much money was raised?' 'Nothing like so much money as has been proclaimed. We did not need four hundred thousand dollars and we did not raise it; no individual gave so much money as has been represented, myself included.' 'Did you raise two hundred thousand dollars?' 'Yes, we raised more than that. My contribution was ten thousand dollars. I had a large experience in raising money, from my connection with the Christian Association and other enterprises of that sort. If you have a large purpose and can bring it to bear upon large-minded men, you may as well ask for ten thousand dollars as for five hundred dollars, for men are rather complimented when you ask them higher, and they sacrifice high for a worthy end. I said to such as I addressed: "How much would you pay for insurance upon your business? If you were confronted with from one year to three years of general depression by a change in our revenue and protective methods affecting our manufactures and wages and good times, what would you pay to be insured for a better year?" That they understood to be the measure of their contribution. We raised the money so quickly that the Democrats never knew anything about it. They had their spies out, supposing that we were going to do something; but before they knew what it was we had them beaten. They were not beaten in November nor in October, but long before that. When the election was over and won, the National Committee would have given me almost anything. It was understood that Pennsylvania was to have a Cabinet place. The appointment was tendered to me of Postmaster-General, and therefore I am here.'"

Mr. Wanamaker's idea of having the executive committee of his advisory board empowered not only to raise the money for the campaign, but also *to overlook its expenditure* by the National Committee, was certainly excellent. It seems strange that in asking this much a man of Mr. Wanamaker's business experience should not have asked a little more and required the Committee to print a full statement of its entire expenditures at the close of the campaign as the price of his acceptance of his own important share of the work. Much scandal which afterward attached to the work of the Committee might thus have been avoided. May we question whether also the result achieved would have been imperilled by this course? It is very difficult to

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gather from members of National committees or from any source accurate information as to the details and precise nature of their work. A curious veil of secrecy hangs over it all, which it seems impossible to lift completely and difficult even to pull aside.

The question is often asked, "What was the amount of the campaign fund at the disposal of the Republican Committee?" No definite or wholly satisfactory answer has ever been given to this question, but there is excellent reason to believe that it reached not less than the astonishing sum of one million dollars, Pennsylvania supplying four hundred thousand dollars and the country at large the remainder. This shows a great change since the days of the first Republican campaign, in 1860, of which Colonel McClure, in his "Lincoln and Men of War Times," writes:

"I cannot recall five commercial houses of prominence in Philadelphia where I could have gone to solicit a subscription to the Lincoln campaign with reasonable expectation that it would not be resented; and of all of our prominent financial men, I can only recall Anthony J. Drexel who actively sympathized with the Republican cause. *Money would have been useless for any but legitimate purposes.* . . . The entire contributions of the Pennsylvania State Committee for that great battle aggregated only twelve thousand dollars, of which two thousand dollars were a contribution for rent of headquarters and three thousand dollars were expended in printing."

Of course the immense difference of expenditure noticeable in these two campaigns must be attributed partly to the fact that one was in a single State, though on its issue depended a National result, and also in the changed condition of the times. But there still remains an immense margin which cannot be so accounted for, or indeed satisfactorily accounted for at all, and which can be attributed only to a degenerate condition of affairs in need of a speedy reform.

In the Lincoln campaign of 1860 no member of a political committee thought of doing aught but pay his own expenses, and there was but little chance of the contributions of the public filtering away into irresponsible hands. Under the unbusiness-like methods which characterized the National committees of 1888, no sensible person is at liberty to suppose anything else than that thousands of dollars issuing from the fountain-head in New York trickled unobserved and unaccounted for through the devious political channels and dark thickets of the doubtful States of New York and Indiana. To test the reasonableness of the supposition, without touching any other sources of proof, consider for a moment the way in which the finances of politi-

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cal committees are handled during the stress of a campaign. A representative of a State committee or of some doubtful district in a particular locality of one of the important doubtful States goes to the National-Committee rooms in New York; he will depict his case as a very pressing one, asking the central committee for so many thousand dollars to do his work. The money is given him, perhaps, without any receipt, and by him is dispensed to his lieutenants and underlings to be spent in ways that may be legitimate or illegitimate, without vouchers or any means of tracing its course. It is by such methods that the crooked work in politics is mostly done, and it is for this reason that it is usually impossible to trace the corrupt use of money in elections to those who are really most responsible for the wrong. You may catch the small fry, repeaters or ballot-thieves, as has been frequently done in my native city; but the big boss whom the initiated well know to be the source of corruption remains well outside the doors of the penitentiary and holds his place as an influential member of the community.

The two States with which the Republican Committee in 1888 needed especially to concern itself were New York and Indiana, because the two parties were so nearly matched in both of them that it took comparatively little change to turn the scales. Connecticut and New Jersey were also considered "doubtful," but they were not of equal importance with New York and Indiana. Mr. Quay's genius, strengthened by his great experience in those methods which work best in the twilight, proved him master of the situation. He determined to reduce the Democratic majority in the city of New York as much as possible. To this end he obtained the services of the Pinkerton Detective Agency and located more than twelve hundred men in the tenement district of the city. Through the detectives he succeeded in preventing much false registration on the part of the Democrats. The cleverness of this move was greatly admired even by his political foes. The "slump," as it is called, of the Democrats in King's County, where in the election of 1884 they had a majority of nearly sixteen thousand, was a great surprise and did much to dishearten the enemy. It was not until the night of the election, so quietly and skilfully had Mr. Quay's agents done their work, that the changed condition of affairs was understood by the Democrats. The county, instead of returning over twenty thousand majority for Mr. Cleveland, gave him but twelve thousand four hundred and sixty-seven. This startling and unexpected result threw the Democratic

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managers into a state of panic. Mr. Murtha, chairman of the executive committee of the New York State Democratic committee, a resident of Brooklyn and a former office-holder there, was so chagrined by the defeat that he took to his bed the next day and soon after died. What was the precise nature of the marvellous persuasions made use of by the emissaries of Mr. Quay is a matter of conjecture.

Another influence employed with marked effect upon the result was heavy betting on the election. Until the large contributions began to flow into the New York treasury from Philadelphia, the betting in New York was strongly in favor of Mr. Cleveland. Democrats and professional gamblers who wanted to bet on Mr. Cleveland had to give odds to make the bets. Mr. Quay determined to turn the tide, and so he and his political lieutenants made up a purse of more than one hundred and thirty thousand dollars which was used to bet upon a victory for Mr. Harrison; nearly all of this money was bet in New York on the general result. When this purse was first made up, it was with the knowledge that it might serve a double purpose—to make money for those who accepted the risk and to encourage their political fellow-workers in other parts of the country. It was a brilliant stroke and did much to turn the tide and to establish confidence in Republican success. But what assurance have contributors to campaign funds, under present non-accounting methods, that their donations are always used for purposes political and that they are not employed as capital for gambling speculations?

The most memorable incident of the campaign, and that which attracted the attention of the entire country, was the publication, by the New York "World" and the New York "Times" and other papers, of a letter purporting to have been written by Colonel Dudley, of Indiana, giving directions to a chairman of a county committee upon the management of the political battle in that State during the closing days of the campaign. It gives a clear idea of some of the details of practical politics as they are conducted by the advocates of machine methods. The sentence which made this letter famous and brought so much annoyance to its alleged author is sufficiently suggestive to bear quoting. The fourth bit of advice which the writer gives to his correspondent is: "Divide the floaters into blocks of five, and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket." Later in the letter the writer adds: "There will be no doubt of your receiving the necessary financial assistance through the National,

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State, and county committees, and only see that it is husbanded and made to produce results."

The popular outcry raised by the publication of this letter was so great that Colonel Dudley felt obliged to take some action in self-defence. He brought suit against the "World" for criminal libel, but this was never pressed to a conclusion. The "World" took the aggressive and addressed certain interrogatories to him calculated to bring out the truth. These the court ordered the plaintiff to answer, and upon his failing to do so the case was dismissed. The public, therefore, was compelled to assume that the letter was genuine. The political debauchery witnessed so conspicuously in Indiana during the last Presidential campaign was but the logical result of those political methods which the people of the United States have permitted to be created and fostered in their midst. Indiana became the storm-centre of corruption because of its peculiar conditions as a doubtful State. The number of purchasable voters[1] in the State became so large because the temptations held out to them by the workers of both parties were so alluring, and each party excused itself and salved its conscience by saying that if it hesitated to employ improper means its opponent would immediately take advantage of its prudishness. Indeed, not only do the machine politicians of both parties so speak when talking freely, but the same sort of fallacious reasoning drops with an unconscious immorality from the lips of otherwise honorable men. We seem to need some moral tonic in our politics which will give us a clearer view of the inevitable punishments following the toleration of such abuses and which will lift the standards of political action. The evil is to some extent working its own cure. As a result of the scandals of the last Presidential election in Indiana, both Governor Gray, Democrat, and Governor Hovey, Republican, have strongly urged upon the legislature the passage of an election law which shall diminish facilities for illicit voting. Such a law has since been enacted, and it is regarded as fairly good.

There is another evil connected with the operations of National campaign committees which is still serious, notwithstanding the existence of a Federal statute which aims to prevent it; this is the disposition of the machine leaders to assess Federal office-holders by ask-

[1] A well-informed and reliable correspondent residing in Indiana writes: "The poll-book makers of both parties returned the number of 'floaters' at between twenty thousand and thirty thousand. This means the purchasable voters. That there were that number is common knowledge."

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ing for contributions to campaign funds. Such contributions are quite easily extorted, even under the guise of seductive invitations euphoniously worded, and which to the ordinary reader have no element of compulsion in them. The force of the appeal lies in the well-grounded fear on the part of the office-holder of the personal consequences of the "boss'" displeasure if he should refuse. Such appeals frequently derive great force from the adoption of the mistaken view by the office-holder that the place which he occupies is the property not of the people, but of his party, and that he owes his party a return for its enjoyment. In the autumn of 1890 a gentleman occupying a Federal office in Baltimore received a circular-letter marked "confidential," signed by Mr. Quay as chairman of the National Republican Committee. This was accompanied by a personal note of explanation. The circular-letter asked the recipient to make use of a number of inclosed elegantly engraved certificates, each of which entitled the signer to be considered as a "registered contributor to the Republican National Committee." A coupon was attached to each certificate, to be returned, with the contributor's name *and a contribution of ten dollars*, to the permanent headquarters of the committee in Washington. To these communications the gentleman who had received them, being of an independent turn of mind, replied that he would gladly comply with the request of the senator were it not that, as "you are doubtless not aware," he was a Federal office-holder and "as such would be liable to the penalties imposed by act of Congress . . . 'upon any officer, clerk, or other person in the service of the United States who shall directly or indirectly give or hand over to any senator any money or other valuables on account of or to be applied to the promotion of any political object whatever.'" To this response the following significant reply came from the assistant secretary of the committee: "If the theory laid down in your letter should be universally followed, I do not see how the National Committee is to be equipped so as to elect in 1892 a Republican President. Fortunately your theory is *not* universally followed." In a word, judging from the writer's statement, the National Republican Committee expected to do its work partly through funds illegally extorted from office-holders in the civil service of the Government!

The same general criticism made upon the methods used by the Republican National Committee might be applied with equal justice to the Democratic committee. There has been the same tendency to find for its *personnel* men who will not let the party interests suffer

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from scrupulosity, and whose keenness of wit will enable them to circumvent the cunning of the adversary. The name of Mr. Gorman, of Maryland, upon it and others of similar import, showed that the same school of politics was there represented as was conspicuous in the chairman of the Republican Committee. In forming the Democratic National Committee for the fight of 1888 it was hoped that Mr. Calvin S. Brice, long prominent in the politics of Ohio, with a reputation for great shrewdness and boldness as a stock speculator in Wall Street, might prove a match for Mr. Quay. The hope was illusive. In accurate knowledge of the precise kind and degree of pressure by which the hidden political springs can be made to respond to the trained touch the skilled financier was a novice as compared with the silent Pennsylvanian. But notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Brice was not equal to Mr. Quay in the game of practical politics, and that he lost, his work in the campaign was painstaking and vigorous, and he has not been accorded due recognition for it. He had to contend against a party which had ample means at its command—Democratic financial resources were very inferior to those of the opponents—and a party, moreover, which was not *weakened by the jealousies and disappointments which inevitably follow the distribution of patronage.* It is reported on good authority that during the last ten days of the campaign so great was the stress under which the Democrats labored that Mr. Brice from his own pocket supplied them with from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty thousand dollars.

The Democrats, although doubtless ready, so far as their resources permitted, to follow the methods of their adversaries, are to be commended for one feature of the campaign. It was, to a greater degree than that of the Republicans, one of education. Mr. Cleveland's tariff-reform message, speeches of Mr. Scott, Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Mills, Mr. Fitch, and Mr. Nelson on the Mills Bill and other documents were printed to the extent of millions of copies, were translated into twelve languages, and circulated widely over the country. It is probable that the Democratic committee did not have seventy-five per cent of the money spent by their opponents. They had hoped to get considerable funds from the office-holders, but in this they failed. Efforts were made to assess Democrats occupying Federal positions, but these were not generally successful, those appealed to feeling that the demand could not be enforced. In this instance the law forbidding such assessments proved of value.

That the political virtue of the Democrats is as frail as that of

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the Republicans where the conditions are favorable to temptation is clearly shown by their doings in Hudson County, N. J., during the gubernatorial campaign of 1889, where efforts to secure victory by fraud have resulted in the conviction and imprisonment of upward of thirty election officers, who have been sentenced by Judge Lippincott (himself a Democrat) to terms running from nine to eighteen months. The superior organization of the Democrats in New Jersey enables them to pursue fraudulent means with greater chance of success, but this advantage is occasionally overcome by the Republicans, who are better supplied with the means for purchasing votes.

That the general picture of our political methods sketched in this article is a fair one will be universally admitted by those who have had even a glance behind the scenes. That it indicates on the part of National committees, State committees, local committees, and of our politicians as a class, a loose, unsatisfactory way of doing business, often a wholly dishonest, reprehensible, and dangerous way, will not be disputed by reasonable and intelligent men who feel themselves at all concerned in the matter and who have examined it with any seriousness. There is a very simple remedy for these distempers of the body politic, the adoption of which is a necessary preliminary to the remedy suggested for the evil of loose business methods tempting to and concealing fraud which are complained of in the case of political committees.

The general remedy, which must be urged with painful reiteration, is the creation of a public interest in public affairs and of that sense of individual responsibility for their right management which makes every man a politician in the true and good sense of that word. The moment that public sentiment demands higher ethical standards in political life, then will they be applied and then will political acts be judged by them. At once the greatest and hardest work in the long struggle for sound administration is to get the good people interested in it and willing to labor for it personally. The specific remedy for the serious abuse existing in the irresponsible and fraud-concealing methods pursued by political campaign committees will be found in the enactment of laws in all the States, possibly also of a Federal law, requiring political committees to publish at the conclusion of a campaign full statements, duly attested before a notary, giving an account of all money received and disbursed by them in the prosecution of their work. It is not sufficient to make such a requirement of a candidate, as is done by the New York law; it should be required of

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committees, for with these the main danger lurks. Michigan has such a law, which is part of that State's new and excellent ballot-reform law. Massachusetts, thanks to the untiring devotion and ability of her strong band of reformers, after several futile attempts, obtained an excellent law during the past winter. This went into operation August 1, 1892.[1]

But quite apart from such reforms in the work of National political committees as can only be effected by the combined action of law and public sentiment, there is one suggestion which such committees might at once carry into effect. It is the substitution of a small pocket compendium, containing the most important facts and arguments which either party has to present to its adherents and the public, for the ponderous, ill-prepared, and ill-printed campaign books such as both the National Committees of 1890 issued. People would be really glad to have such a book, prepared with ability and judgment, and it would be of great benefit to the party in whose interests it was issued. It would pour a new life through the various political arteries provided for its circulation. The true conception of a National Committee composed of able and high-toned men, one representing the best life of the party, is that it should be a bureau of information; that by the speakers which it commissions and the literature which it issues the public may be told in the clearest manner possible the true reasons for the party's existence and upon which it bases its appeal to public favor.

The political diseases which afflict our young and vigorous Nation are sufficiently serious; but in view of the youth and vitality of the patient they furnish no ground for despair of a complete recovery. On the other hand, let us beware lest we fall into a fatuous neglect of them and a failure to seek with promptitude sound medical advice, to apply obvious remedies, and to secure good hygienic conditions for their removal.

HERBERT WELSH.

[1] Very interesting and valuable information on this topic, to which the writer is indebted, will be found in an article entitled "Corrupt Practices Legislation in 1891," contained in the "Century" for November, 1891.

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CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES: A PLAN FOR MORE EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT.

HAS not the time arrived when some reforms in the stereotyped methods of directing National political campaigns can be made with profit? Cannot some changes be introduced which will render the work done and the money spent through National committees more effective and its effects more wholesome? The present methods are largely perfunctory and antiquated, and the idea that doubtful and devious paths lead to success should be set aside, and the doctrine advanced that direct and open courses are to be preferred, not only on the ground of greater political courage, but also because they have the merit of greater efficiency and will secure greater results. Tricks and traps, operations in "mules" and transactions in "blocks of five" are hardly defensible upon ethical grounds; and if they are both costly and ineffectual, as most close observers will admit them to be, it is clear that simpler and wholly commendable methods ought to command approval and secure adoption. Assuming that there is in the land too much intelligence and too much political integrity to make it possible that the old-fashioned campaign management should be either generally acceptable or properly effective, I venture to outline a somewhat different method of procedure. Taking only the side that affects the Democratic party, I will endeavor to suggest a Presidential campaign for 1892 which will commend itself to the people on account of its transparent fairness and to the party because of its probable successful results.

The fight should be made from start to finish on the platform, and both platform and candidates should be constantly held up as the promise the party makes to the country if intrusted with its control by the voters in November. No dodging, straddling, or deception should be encouraged in any part of the country. No promise or hint of any future action inconsistent with our platform pledges should be permitted, and every vote we secure should be, therefore, solely upon the pledge of the platform and upon its promises. A campaign for principle will result, and it will be both refreshing and successful.

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The party thus appealing to the Nation's conscience, to its sense of fair play, to its intelligence and to its honesty is sure to triumph. It is this open, straightforward, and courageous appeal which will bring to us the doubtful States, and it certainly will not lose us a Democratic State.

As we believe in local government, in home rule in State and Nation in political affairs, we should apply it to our campaign management. This would not involve anything like close connection between the National Committee and the various State committees. Throw all the direct responsibility on the State committees and give them entire control of their own territory. The work then of the National Committee would be simplified by being made largely advisory, and in the end it would become more vigorous and efficient; while the work of the State committees, acting independently and practically as if it were a State and not a National election, would be immensely more effective than it has been in the past half-dozen Presidential struggles. The National Committee would still find enough to do, and could perform its work thoroughly and promptly. Securing from the State committees complete poll lists of Republican and Independent voters, it could supply each of them for three or four months with a leading Democratic weekly paper of National reputation, and occasionally reach them with an extra document or publication of brevity and force. These poll lists, worked in this way, would prove the richest political soil in which to plant and cultivate truth, and a most satisfactory crop could be gathered from it in November. If properly developed, this alone would produce and supply enough extra votes for us to secure overwhelming Democratic success next fall.

Of course, the work of securing campaign speakers from outside to canvass particular States might be undertaken by the National Committee, but it would be better if all such matters were worked out by local and State committees. The National Committee ought to have a list of all local speakers taking part in the campaign from the Pacific to the Atlantic, without the omission of a State; and to such speakers it should supply campaign literature and such information and encouragement, as well as occasional direction or suggestion, as might be found necessary as the campaign developed. At the end of the fight the National Committee should publish a statement of its receipts and expenditures, and when taken in conection with the results accomplished, the party and the country would recognize the truth that a

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moderate sum of money devoted wholly to a campaign of education, and none of it wasted in doubtful and almost uniformly futile efforts at outwitting or misleading the opposition, is more effective than a much greater sum spent in the usual manner. Campaign publications should be brief and tract-like, never exceeding in length a short catechism, and illustrated as often as possible by cartoon work. After such a campaign local politics would be left in better condition and in more efficient shape for the succeeding State, county, and city struggles which are annual throughout the country.

My suggestion simply is to take from the work usually done by the National Committee that part which can be done much more easily and directly and with far greater results and place it where it belongs; that is, with the State and other local committees. If there is added to this the effort to make the work of the National Committee more open than it has grown to be, and then the details are filled in which are inevitable to a campaign, but which cannot be stated here for they would fill a small volume, we have in brief an outline plan of party organization which in 1892 would sweep the country for the Democratic party and its candidates.

MICHAEL D. HARTER.

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THE NEXT GREAT PROBLEMS OF SCIENCE.

THE progress of the race and the advancement of civilization, whether in the direction of industrial improvement or of intellectual growth, depend, the first mainly, the second largely, upon the extent and the success of man's utilization of the four great natural forces, or "energies" as the man of science calls them: heat, light, electricity, mechanical or dynamic power. Civilization is based upon their application to the purposes of humanity in the world of matter; intellectual and even moral progress is advanced by that steady march of improvement which, in modern times especially, has so constantly promoted the material welfare of the world, and has thus given leisure for that employment of the mind in higher work which is the essential prerequisite to either intellectual or moral elevation.

The greatest of all our problems to-day is thus that of making this utilization of the forces of nature more general, more efficient, and more fruitful. Could the engineer, to whom all this work is intrusted, find a way of producing steam power at a fraction its present cost; could he transform heat energy directly and without waste into dynamic; could he find a method of evolution of light without that enormous loss now inevitable in the form of accompanying heat; could he directly produce electricity, without other and lost energy, from the combustion of fuel—could he do these things to-day, the growth of all that is desirable to mankind and the advancement of all the interests and powers of the race would be inconceivably accelerated. Moral sentiments, logical power, inventive genius, capacity for accomplishing all the grander tasks of civilization, develop together. All gain and retain existence through the mysterious power, possessed by all, of transforming and utilizing those original natural energies coming to us all alike from the central sun, and to the central sun from initial chaos and a diffused universe. Every motion and every power of each and all is due to conversion of these primary energies for a specific purpose and in a specific manner.

The engineer, to whom is confided this duty of utilizing all the forces of nature for the benefit of his fellows, has, however, now ap-

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parently reached a point beyond which he can see but little opportunity for further improvement, except by slow and toilsome and continually limited progress. He seems to have come very nearly to the limit of his advance in the directions which have, up to the moment, been so fruitful of result. His steam engine is doing nearly the best that can be done, so far as he can see, in the conversion of heat into power; light is produced through the steam engine and the dynamo-electric machine about as efficiently as he can hope to obtain it by known methods; heat is obtainable for his thousand purposes, economically at least, only by the combustion of his rapidly disappearing stores of fuel laid by in the past millenniums for his use during a brief life on the globe, and without visible substitute when they shall have been exhausted; and civilization, the life of the race, dependent upon our coal-beds, is only assured of ultimate and, on the geologist's scale of time, early extinction; unless, indeed, again consulting nature and studying the lessons of life, as we have so often profitably done before, we can learn of new ways of availing ourselves of existing forms of energy in nature, or of enormously improving our methods and reducing those wastes which are now so frightful, as judged from the standpoint of both the engineer and the man of science. Whether we can expect or even hope to accomplish the first of these tasks is extremely doubtful, not to say absolutely improbable; that we may possibly succeed in the second may be less unlikely. In any case, our only recourse is the same method which has brought us all that we now possess: scientific research and the study of nature's own methods.

What we are to seek is, first, a method of producing, directly or by modification of other ether vibrations, just that sort of ether wave which we require, in the form of heat, light, or electricity, of exactly defined rate and amplitude of vibration; secondly, the complete transformation of either or all forms into mechanical power, into "dynamic" energy. It is easy to say and usually is safe to assert that what has been done may be again done; what is accomplished to-day in nature may be, in a similar manner or by parallel methods, performed by man. Nature accomplishes many of the tasks that man is about attempting, and has been holding up to him the solution of his problems throughout the ages. It is for him to solve her riddles and thus to obtain power at a fraction of its present cost; prolong the life of the race indefinitely; secure light, isolated from heat, and in many times the quantity for a given amount of labor now expended; and

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produce electricity without loss and directly, instead of, as at present, through the intervention of heat engines with their now enormous wastes. Human progress depends upon the ability of mankind to do more work, and to accomplish greater tasks, to supply the necessaries of life with less expenditure of time and strength, thus to secure leisure for the production of the comforts and the luxuries that give modern society its characteristics, and to insure that leisure for thought, invention, intellectual development of every kind, which still more strikingly characterize the highest civilization. In all this, only the application of the forces of nature without waste and the complete subjection of all its energies can give maximum result.

It is now well known that the heat engines, whether steam, gas, hot air, or ether, only utilize a fraction of the power latent in their fuel, and that this fraction, as a maximum, in even an ideally perfect engine, is measured by the division of the range of temperature through which they expand their "working fluids" by the "absolute" temperature of the fluid as supplied to the engine; that is, a temperature measured from a point about 460°, on the Fahrenheit scale, below the Fahrenheit zero. This fraction, we have learned, is, in the case of the modern steam engine, usually between one-fourth and one-half; while the actual performance of our engines falls to one-fifth or one-third this ideal maximum, in the ordinary and best engines, respectively.[1] The engine fully utilizing, ideally, but two and one-half pounds of steam and one-fourth of a pound of coal per horse power per hour practically demands six to eight times this amount, even when of the best construction; while the average engine probably utilizes but one pound in ten, and often but one in twenty, wasting from ninety to ninety-five per cent of all the heat from its furnaces. The gas engine gives higher thermodynamic performance than the steam engine; but it compensates this advantage by loss, through a "water-jacket," of one-half of all the heat that it should completely transform into useful work.[2] No method is yet discovered of imitating nature in direct conversion of heat into other forms of energy without waste; and our production of light, in our most recent and most wonderful inventions, involves the same waste by the intermediate use of the heat engine for primary transformation of heat into mechanical energy,

[1] "Steam and its Rivals," R. H. Thurston: FORUM, May, 1888, p. 341. Also "Manual of the Steam Engine," Vol. I.; New York, S. Wiley & Sons, 1890.

[2] "Last Days of the Steam Engine," R. H. Thurston: "North American Review," July, 1889.

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in turn to be converted, with great efficiency, into electricity, thence to be once more transformed, with great waste again, into light. The direct evolution of light, purely, or of electricity alone and without loss, from fuel oxidation, though it is constantly performed by nature, is as yet beyond the power of man. Could these problems of life be solved, power and light would cost us but a small fraction of their cost to-day; and the exhaustion of our coal-beds would be deferred thousands of years. Were grander problems ever presented or nobler prizes ever offered the man of science than these? Nature solved them in the earliest days of the earth's history; it begins to seem probable that man may find a way to penetrate the secrets and solve the problems of life and vitality. All that he seeks may be evolved from the mysteries and lessons of life.

The living body is a machine in which the "law of Carnot," which asserts the necessity of waste in all thermodynamic processes and in every heat engine, and which shows that waste to be the greater as the range of temperature worked through by the machine is the more restricted, is evaded; it produces electricity without intermediate conversions and losses; it obtains heat without high-temperature combustion, and even, in some cases, light without any sensible heat. In other words, in the vital system of man and of the lower animals nature shows us the practicability of directly converting any one form of energy into any other, without those losses and unavoidable wastes characteristic of the methods the invention of which has been the pride and the boast of man. Every living creature, man and worm alike, shows him that his great task is but half accomplished; that his grandest inventions are but crudest and remote imitations; that his best work is wasteful and awkward. Every animate creature is a machine of enormously higher efficiency as a dynamic engine than his most elaborate construction as illustrated in the 20,000 horse-power engines of the "Teutonic" or the "City of Paris," or in the most powerful locomotive. Every gymnotus living in the mud of a tropical stream puts to shame man's best effort in the production of electricity; and the minute insect that flashes across his lawn on a summer evening, or the worm that lights his path in the garden, exhibits a system of illumination incomparably superior to his most perfect electric lights.

Nature in each of these cases converts the energy of chemical union, probably of low-temperature oxidation, into just that form of energy, whether mechanical or of a certain exactly defined and re-

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quired rate of ether vibration, that is best suited to the intended purpose, and without waste in other force, utilizing even the used-up tissue of muscle and nerve for the production of the warmth required to retain the marvellous machine at the temperature of best efficiency, whatever the environment, and exhaling the rejected resultant carbonic-acid gas at the same low temperature. Here is nature's challenge to man! Man wastes one-fourth of all the heat of his fuel as utilized in his steam boiler, and often ninety per cent as used in his open fireplaces; nature, in the animal system, utilizes substantially all. He produces light by candle, oil lamp, or electricity, but submits to a loss of from one-fifth to more than nine-tenths of all his stock of available energy as heat; she, in the glow-worm and fire-fly, produces a lovelier light without waste measurable by our most delicate instruments. He throws aside as loss nine-tenths of his potential energy when attempting to develop mechanical power; she is vastly more economical. But in all cases her methods are radically different from his, though they are as yet obscure. Nature converts available forms of energy into precisely those other forms which are needed for her purposes, in exactly the right quantity, and never wastes, as does invariably the engineer, a large part of the initial stock by the production of energies that she does not want and cannot utilize. She goes directly to her goal. Why should not man? He has but to imitate her processes.

Mysterious as seem these processes and methods, however, and wonderful as seem their results when compared with the crude ways of the engineer and the man of science, we at least know something of them, and are even familiar with many facts relating to them. The facts are these: Every living creature throughout the animal kingdom is a machine which takes into its internal furnace or whatever it may prove to be, its fuel, its "food," composed of vegetable matter or, like the body receiving it, itself directly derived from vegetation; and by a chemical process in what the chemist calls the "wet way" it consumes this food, the resulting products of this chemical action being such as, dissolved in the blood, may be converted into brain, nerve, muscle, and fat; and by later combustion and transformations at low temperature it may produce heat certainly, electricity probably, often light, and always mechanical power. The composition of this fuel is known to be principally familiar chemical elements mingled with the rarer in minute proportions. The hydrocarbons, water, and a little lime, phosphorus, sulphur, and other minerals, such as iron, constitute the food of all living creatures.

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Every process involved is carried on at "blood-heat" in the higher animals, and at much lower temperatures in the "cold-blooded" creatures; and all parts of the system are retained at substantially the same temperature at all times. All heat is thus the result of low-temperature combustion; all light and electricity are evolved at a constant low point on the scale, and these energies are converted into new forms, or into dynamic energy, and applied to the performance of work without variation of that temperature. That heat *is* produced is a matter of constant experience and observation, and we throw off more as we work harder, whether with mind or body, and as we move more rapidly. That this heat, so far as converted into other energies by the body, must be so converted at a sensibly constant temperature is obvious from the fact that the change goes on in a mass of circulating fluids; that this proves that the conversion is not thermodynamic, but is due to some entirely different and unknown method, is equally evident to the engineer, who understands that only so could the "law of Carnot" be evaded. That this mass is possibly electrodynamic is indicated by the fact that electric currents traverse the system, and that we may at any moment compel the muscles to do work by the application of a current from an external source.

Of the methods of production of electrical energies in the body, we know as yet absolutely nothing; but we do know that electricity may be produced in large quantity, and at "high pressure," as the electrician says, as illustrated by the torpedo and the gymnotus or electric eel; and the anatomist knows the mechanical structure of the organs from which it is evolved, though he is ignorant of the processes therein conducted. We also know that the best currents for electrodynamic operations are those of low intensity, such as are easiest of control and insulation in the body. By analogy with the other methods of transformation, we may presume that the source of this vital fluid in the animal is low-temperature combustion or other chemical action, and that a system of direct conversion is there in operation.

Scientific men are somewhat more familiar with the case of the fire-fly, curiously enough; that is to say, the production of light without heat, as well as the transformation of energies resulting in the economical production of heat and power in the animal system. It has long been known that certain chemical compounds, notably fats containing sulphur and phosphorus, may be burned at exceedingly low temperatures, with an evolution of a mild light almost or quite

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entirely free from heat. Some such compounds are found in nature, and the chemist has artificially produced others. He finds that he may at will produce, in some cases, slow and cold light-production or rapid and heat-producing oxidation. Numerous experiments upon the fire-fly and the glow-worm indicate that theirs is a light thus obtained. This so-called "phosphorescence" is seen in many insects, worms, fishes, and molluscs, and even in vegetable and mineral matter. For a century this investigation has been in progress, and it is well established that the low-temperature combustion of a peculiar substance, given form in the body of the fire-fly, for instance, by peculiar organs specially constituted for that purpose, results in the production of light without heat. This has been most recently and most conclusively proved by Messrs. Langley and Very, the distinguished astronomer and his naval friend, who show by actual measurement with the Langley "bolometer," an instrument capable of measuring even the heat received from the moon, that "insect light" is accompanied by approximately one-four-hundredth part of the heat which is ordinarily associated with the radiation of flame of the luminous quality of those familiar to all of us. Thus "nature produces this cheapest light at about one-four-hundredth part of the cost of the energy which is expended in the candle flame and at but an insignificant fraction of the cost of the electric light or the most economic light which has yet been devised." Many deep-sea fishes and numberless animalcules exhibit a solution of this problem.

Some idea of the advantage to be hoped for from the substitution of the economical ways of nature for the wasteful ways of man may be obtained from the following facts: Experiments by Mr. Merritt, in the Cornell University laboratories, have shown the wastes of the incandescent electric lamp to be from 93½ to 99½ per cent, according to intensity of current; while Mr. Nakano's tests, in the same place, of the arc lamp give a waste of 95 to 84 per cent. The insect wastes almost nothing. But even now the electric light has ten or fifteen times the efficiency of the oil lamp, and is still better as compared with the candle. Professor Langley found the common gas-burner to waste 99 per cent of the developed energy of combustion. His fire-flies were more efficient in the proportion of one to thousands. The six millions of tons of coal supposed to be concealed in the earth, at our present rate of consumption, if employed for power-production, would supply about fifteen thousand millions of horse power for twelve thousand years; but could we discover and employ nature's methods

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and gain in such proportion as is indicated above, we might feel sure that all the wants of the race would be supplied as long as the earth should continue the possible abode of man. More than ten years ago I remarked in my inaugural address as president of the "American Society of Mechanical Engineers":[1]

"I have sometimes said that the world is waiting for the appearance of three great inventors, yet unknown, for whom it has in store honors and emoluments far exceeding all ever yet accorded to any one of their predecessors. The first is the man who is to show how, by the consumption of coal, we may directly produce electricity, and thus, perhaps, evade that now inevitable and enormous loss that comes of the utilization of energy in all heat engines driven by substances of variable volume. Our electrical engineers have this great step still to take, and are apparently not likely soon to gain the prize that will reward some genius yet to be born. The second of these greatest of inventors is he who will teach us the source of the beautiful soft-beaming light of the fire-fly and the glow-worm, and will show us how to produce this singular illuminant and to apply it with success practically and commercially. This wonderful light, free from heat and from consequent loss of energy, is nature's substitute for the crude and extravagantly wasteful lights of which we have, through so many years, been foolishly boasting. The dynamo-electrical engineer has nearly solved this problem. Let us hope that it may be soon fully solved, and by one of those among our own colleagues who are now so earnestly working in this field, and that we may all live to see him steal the glow-worm's light and to see the approaching days of Vril predicted so long ago by Lord Lytton. The third great genius is the man who is to fulfil Erasmus Darwin's prophecy closing the stanza:

"'Soon shall thy arm, unconquered steam, afar
Drag the slow barge or drive the rapid car;
Or on wide-waving wings expanded bear
The flying chariot through the fields of air.'"

And even this latest of the mechanic's triumphs, already known to present far less difficulty than was formerly supposed, will attain highest success only when nature's methods of energy transformations are discovered and adopted.

Should the day ever come when transformations of energy shall be made in nature's order, and when thermo-electric changes shall be a primary step toward electrodynamic application to purposes now universally attained only by the unsatisfactory processes of thermodynamics as illustrated in our wasteful heat engines, the engineer, following in his work the practice of nature, which has been so successful throughout the life of the animal kingdom, will find it easy to drive his ship across the ocean in three days; will readily concentrate in the space now occupied by the engines of the "Majestic" a quarter

[1] Transactions "A. S. M. E.," November, 1881.

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of a million horse power; will transfer the 3,000,000 horse power of Niagara to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, to be distributed to the mills, shops, houses, for every possible use, furnishing heat, light, and power wherever needed; and may possibly do quite as much for the benefit of mankind by breaking up the modern factory system and distributing labor in comfortable quarters as by this reduction of costs of products to the consumer. One of the many difficulties in the way of successful navigation of the air is known to be that of securing some propelling instrument that shall not weigh more than about ten pounds to the horse power. Could we evade Carnot's law by complete energy transformation, we could to-day build engines of over 4,000 horse power to the ton weight, and that obstacle would be out of our way. Could we completely transform heat or mechanical power into light, a resulting advantage would also be the reduction of the whole system of light-producing machinery in weight and bulk in corresponding degree. These gains would be observed in innumerable directions.

On the other hand, nature in all her transformations makes use of chemical processes and organic and complex compounds that may prove to be too costly as substitutes for the fuels, though the latter are subject to present wastes; and thus the question of dollars and cents, always controlling, comes in to confuse the wisest of scientific men. However that may be, these problems must always afford instructive lessons to the student of the mysteries of nature; and the bare possibility that by following her methods he may find ways of so enormously benefiting his fellow-man and of adding so greatly to the comfort, the pleasure, the safety, and the opportunities of the race, must be quite sufficient to stimulate every young aspirant for fame and every lover of research to strive to achieve some one or all of these solutions of the grandest scientific problems that remain unsolved. It seems more than probable that it is to the mysteries and lessons of life that the chemist, the physicist, the engineer, must turn in seeking the key that shall unlock the still unrevealed treasures of coming centuries. These constitute nature's challenge to the engineer.

ROBERT H. THURSTON.

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"A TARIFF FOR REVENUE": WHAT IT REALLY MEANS.

"TARIFF for revenue only" is the expression of a fundamental principle of one of the great political parties of the country, and has for years been familiarly used by statesmen, politicians, journalists, and disputants generally in discussing our National fiscal policy. To ask at this late day what this expression means may imply an assumption that it has not been understood; and singular and perhaps unwarranted as such an assumption may seem, an examination of the subject will, I believe, nevertheless show that the proposition in question embodies a principle that in its largest and legitimate sense is not yet popularly recognized, and a meaning far broader and more important than any that would follow from a limitation of its application to the mere levying of duties (taxes) upon imports. In justification of this belief, attention is asked to the steps and sequences of such an examination.

It is important in the first instance to recognize clearly the origin and justification of taxation. How happens it that the *entity* which we call the state has the right to take from the individual that which is absolutely his, annul his ownership, and convert the thing to its own use? How happens it that the exercise of this right is so absolute that the state requires the citizen to set apart from the earnings of his labor a certain sum for its use before he applies any of those earnings to the support of his family?

On this subject there has been a good deal of philosophizing: all of which, although interesting, is of little practical importance, inasmuch as it is only necessary to recognize that the state exists for certain definite purposes, even though they may be difficult of precise definition, to obtain a satisfactory answer to the question at issue. For the command of an adequate and certain revenue being absolutely essential to the existence of organized government, the power to compel or enforce contributions from the people governed, or, as it is termed, "*to tax*," is inherent in and an incident of every sovereignty and *rests upon necessity*. Without revenue (and a government never has any resources except what it derives from the people) regularly and uniformly obtainable, no governmental machinery for

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the protection of life and property, through the dispensing of justice and the providing for the common defence, could long be maintained; and in default thereof production would stop or be reduced to a minimum, accumulations would cease or become speedily exhausted, and civilization would inevitably give place to barbarism. For like reasons also, or as the old-time Latin maxim "*salus populi suprema lex*" concretely expresses it, the state holds command of the lives and liberties of its citizens as it does of their fortunes. In fact, the sovereignty of the state exists and exemplifies itself in its power to abridge the liberty of the individual citizen and take his property; and the character of every government is mainly determined by the intent and purpose for which these two great functions, from which all its force proceeds, are exercised.

These conclusions naturally lead up to the consideration of the question as to the extent to which the power of the state to interfere with the citizen's rights to property may be exercised. Under a purely despotic government there is no limitation on its exercise except such as arises from the inability of the subject to contribute. The head of the state—shah, czar, or emperor—decides how much shall be exacted and the time and manner of exaction; and not infrequently the amount taken is only a little short of what it is necessary to leave to the producer in order to enable him to maintain a mere animal existence. People are accustomed to think that the extreme exercise of the power of exacting tribute has long since passed, but in this they are mistaken. Thus in Russia the present governmental exaction—under the name of taxes—from the agricultural peasant is understood to amount to about forty-five per cent of his annual product or earnings; and in Italy, although it is hardly fair to characterize its government as despotic, agriculture is burdened with a state exaction that absorbs from one-third to one-half of its annual returns.

In a truly free and highly developed state, the two great functions, namely, the right to interfere with the liberty of the citizen and with his property, have been called into existence and can be rightfully exercised for certain purposes only, which admit of precise definition. In such a state the fundamental and essential purpose of government is not to abridge the liberty of the individual citizen in respect to his person or his possession and use of property, but to increase it; and this result, as has already been pointed out, can only be attained by taking a part of the property of the citizen which the existence of

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the state has enabled him to acquire, for the purpose of maintaining instrumentalities for preventing any encroachment upon his rightful liberty and punishing those who attempt it. In fact, in every free state there are limitations on the exercise of the taxing power, growing out of the structure of its government, or because it is free; or, as Chief Justice Marshall expressed it, "by the implied reservations of individual rights growing out of the nature of a free government, and the maintenance of which is essential to its existence."

No one would probably question that if an assemblage of men reasonably intelligent—though not versed in law, political economy, or the teachings of social science—were to come together for the purpose of founding a state *de novo*, they would, while recognizing at once, and as it were instinctively, the necessity of insuring to the government of such state a revenue adequate to its support, never even so much as dream for one moment of intrusting to it a power to take the property of any individual member of such assemblage, except so far as might be absolutely necessary to carry out and fulfil the purposes for which it was proposed to call the state into existence. They would be mentally blind if they did not see at once that in intrusting to the state a power of unlimited interference with the citizen's right to property, they would create not a free government, but a despotism. And in proof that this reasoning is not mere rhetoric, but plain, hard legal and political sense, it is well to note what our highest legal tribunal, the United States Supreme Court, has had to say on this subject. Speaking through the late Justice Miller, in the celebrated case of "Loan Association *v.* Topeka," it unqualifiedly indorsed the position above taken by declaring that "in every free government there are certain rights beyond the control of the state—implied reservations of individual rights without which the social compact could not exist"; and that "a government which recognized no such rights, which held the property of its citizens subject at all times to the absolute disposition and unbounded control of even the most democratic depository of power, is after all but a despotism," and "none the less so" if it happens to be "a despotism of a majority." And in the same case the same court further declared that "the whole theory of our governments, State and National, is opposed to the deposit of unlimited power anywhere."

The limitation, accordingly, on the exercise of the power of taxation under a free government, necessarily grows out of the source and sole justification of the power, namely, its *necessity;* and the right-

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eousness of any specific interference by the state with individual rights in respect to property (as well as in respect to personal liberty) may be tested by the question, *Is it necessary?* If the necessity exists, then the power may be justifiably exercised to a corresponding extent. But, on the other hand, if the interference transcends that which is absolutely essential for fulfilling the rightful purposes for which the state exists, then it loses its sole justification of necessity and becomes tyranny, the definition of which is "despotic use of power." Further, "if the state, even to promote its necessary and legitimate objects, takes the amount of property to which it is entitled in such a manner as requires a citizen to pay more than his just share of the requisite amount—whether it be great or small—it takes that to which it has no right; it does what if done by a citizen in defiance of law is called robbery, if under color of law is called fraud, but which in a government which makes law is simply confiscation and tyranny." And yet, very strangely, this tyranny has come to be regarded and defended, by not a few intelligent persons who claim to understand the theory and nature of a free and just government, as an act of wisdom and statesmanship and in the highest degree beneficent to the citizen whose property is confiscated.

Consider next the instrumentality by which taxation subserves the necessities of the state and enables it to effect the purposes for which it was instituted. The designation of this instrumentality is "revenue," as is indicated in the phrase "tariff (or taxation) for revenue." But the term "revenue" is abstract and most indefinite, and as popularly used conveys little meaning, other than a receipt of something of value. In rude or incipient forms of government, where tribute or taxes are payable in cattle, skins, cocoanuts, salt, grain, and the like, the term might be fairly interpreted as an income of property in general. But in a highly civilized state such a meaning is inadmissible. The government of such a state obviously could not defray its varied expenses by payments with various articles of property, even though their value may be unquestioned—as, for example, its executive with fish, fresh or salt; its legislators with distilled or fermented liquors; its judges with boots and shoes; its soldiers and sailors with cotton or corn; and its clerks with agricultural implements, even though the producers of all these forms of wealth or property may be most willing to give them in discharge of their tax obligations. To such a state revenue has and can have, therefore, but one meaning, namely, *money;* because money is the indispensable and practically the only means of

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defraying the expenses of the state and efficiently administrating its government; and taxation is the process by which the state obtains money from its citizens, who in turn obtain it in exchange for some product of their labor or for some direct personal service.

Now, if these premises are correct—and it is difficult to see how they can be disproved—it would seem to follow that to seek to make taxation, which is a fit contrivance only for raising revenue, an instrument for effecting some ulterior purpose, be it never so just and legitimate, to seek to use it for the attainment of any other advantage than the obvious one of raising money, is to lose sight of a fundamental principle of every free government and to forbid all expectation of recognizing any other basis for the exercise of this great sovereign power of the state than expediency, which in turn will depend upon the actions, passions, and prejudices of legislators, who may not be the same in any two successive legislative assemblies. Such a perversion of principle, furthermore, reaches its climax of absurdity in practice when its immediate beneficiaries claim to be the only proper persons by whom the incidence and amount of taxation can be intelligently determined, a claim that is practically equivalent to the assumption that privilege should take precedence of right in the theory of government.[1]

It is essential to the completeness of this discussion to call attention at this point to the circumstance that a full recognition and rigid adherence in practice by a government to these fundamental principles of taxation will not interfere with or impair the efficiency of its administration. The raising of revenue (money) by taxation is one thing; the determination of how the revenue collected shall be used or expended is quite another thing, and the danger line to the liberties of the people is crossed when these two functions are confounded. The exercise of the first, as already pointed out, is subject to limitations growing out of the conditions essential to the existence of a free government. The determination of the second rests primarily in the legislative department of such government, and is subject to no legal limitations in the United States other than what flows from the

[1] "To the extent that the mass of our citizens are inordinately burdened beyond any useful public purpose and for the benefit of a favored few, the Government, under pretext of an exercise of its taxing power, enters gratuitously into partnership with these favorites, to their advantage and to the misery of a vast majority of our people." Message of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, December, 1888.

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oft-repeated *dicta* and decisions of its highest judicial authorities, that money taken out of the pockets of the people by taxation cannot be used (expended) for any other than a public purpose; but what constitutes a public purpose is so indefinite that one eminent jurist, especially versed in the subject, has declared that "there is no such thing as drawing a clear line of distinction between purposes of a public and those of a private nature."[1]

If a state, therefore, in the plenitude of the wisdom of its legislators, desires "to interfere with the operation of the laws of trade, domestic or foreign, control the preferences of its citizens in respect to production or consumption, repress one form of industry and stimulate another, and discourage even to prohibition the indulgence of such tastes and passions as it may judge to be detrimental to itself or the individual," it may legitimately exercise functions entirely different from that exercised in raising revenue and governed by entirely different principles. The right to regulate trade and commerce and the power of police are entirely independent of the right to raise revenue.

If the state, in providing itself with what it regards as necessary revenue, levies its taxes in such a manner that no citizen is required to pay more or allowed to pay less than his just proportion, then there is no tyranny in taxation, even if the methods employed, without any such intent, may incidentally promote private interests and sumptuary purposes. But if, on the other hand, a just and equitable method of taxation will not promote these purposes, and, as usually the case, the state resorts to methods that are not just, not equitable, and imposes upon some citizens an undue share of the general public burden, then to just that extent taxation becomes tyrannical, and cannot be justified except upon the assumption that there is no limitation on the right of a state to interfere with individual rights to property; which is the same thing as asserting that the state in question is not "free," but is a "despotism." In short, the proposition would seem to be clear and not open to dispute that the state cannot, without violating that simple principle of justice which prescribes equality in taxation, use its taxing power for effecting any other purpose whatever except to raise money.

The principle here involved may be further illustrated by reference to a curious chapter of railroad experience. Some years ago the managers of one of the great railroads of the United States appropriated a part of its receipts from the carriage of freight and passengers

[1] Cooley: "Law of Taxation," p. 70.

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to the support of an opera-house and a corps of ballet-dancers. Extraordinary as was this procedure, there was no question that the directors, who were trustees for the stockholders, had the right to determine how the earnings of the road should be applied, so long as the stockholders failed to restrain them or prevent their continuance in office; and as they did not, no legal action or restraint of their singular use of the receipts of the property was attempted. But if these same directors had decided not to take money directly from the aggregate earnings of the railroad for the furtherance of their peculiar views, but that in addition to certain rates for transportation all passengers and freight should pay a special sum (tax) for the support of the opera-house, the state would have undoubtedly and properly intervened and forbidden its collection, on the ground that the railroad was not chartered (called into existence) for any such purpose, and that the attempt to use any power other than what was granted or contemplated in its charter was illegal and unwarranted.

Again, if the legislative department of the state decides that it would be expedient to establish or stimulate the manufacture of certain commodities, no one under a free government would venture openly to justify such action, except on the ground that public welfare would be thereby promoted, although practically such justification in the United States has long since ceased to be other than a pretence and a cover for the promotion of private interests. Suppose, for example, that the manufacture of the commodity which it is proposed to stimulate is tin-plate, and it is decided that the desired result can be best attained by giving the domestic manufacturer the difference between what his product will fetch in a free market and what he can make it for, say fifteen million dollars per annum: it would seem to be only simple justice that the state should fairly and honestly pay the sum representing this difference, and raise the money,[1] not by a tax on the consumers of the product artificially maintained, who are no more interested in the matter than all other citizens, but by a levy

[1] The statement of Senator Hoar, in his recent letter from Paris to the Massachusetts Republican Committee, that the assertion by the Democratic party in its Chicago platform that "the Federal Government has no constitutional power to enforce and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only" was equivalent to an unveiling of an opinion that "the American people alone, of all civilized nations, have no power to do anything for the encouragement of their own industries," displays an amount of ignorance and misconception of the powers and objects of the Government he serves which is, to say the least, most discreditable to the writer.

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upon the community at large, in the same equitable manner as it raises money to defray its other expenses. In short, if any industry cannot live without state aid, and it is for the public welfare that it should live, let the state directly subsidize it, and not maintain it by allowing private interest arbitrarily to exercise the great sovereign power of taxation.

This was the idea of Alexander Hamilton, who in the early days of the Republic favored state interference with the pursuits of the people to a large extent, as the best method by which domestic manufacturing should be stimulated by the state. This idea, however, found no more favor with the parties specially interested at that time than it would at present; inasmuch as a brief practical experience would so soon demonstrate the smallness of the revenue necessary to be raised by honest taxation for the maintenance of the state, in comparison with the amount raised, for the most part by inequitable and unjust taxation, for the support of that interference by the state with production which goes under the name of "protection," as to make any long toleration of the latter policy by a free people exceedingly unlikely.

Attention is next asked to the generic difference between the "taxing" and "police" powers of the state (to which a brief reference has been made already), and to the incongruities and governmental abuses that inevitably result from a lack of full recognition of this fact. The object of the taxing power is to raise money to defray the expenditures of the state, and proof and argument seem conclusive that it cannot be legitimately used for anything else. By the power of police is understood the internal regulation of the affairs of the state in the interest of good order. The idea, therefore, of resorting to taxation for the purpose of enforcing morality, preventing social evils, or as an instrumentality for the punishment of crime, is to pervert an agency from the one sole purpose for which it can rightfully exist to another less fit and not warranted by necessity, and presupposes an entire misconception of the principles of a free government. If the prosecution of any trade or occupation or the manufacture and use of any product constitutes an evil of sufficient magnitude to call for adverse legislation, let the state proceed against it directly, courageously, and with determination. To impose taxes upon an evil in any degree short of its prohibition is in effect to recognize and license it. To demand a portion of the gains of a person practising fraud may be an effectual method for putting an end to his knavery by

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making his practices unprofitable, but it would be all the same a very poor way for a state to adopt as a means for suppressing fraud. If absolute prohibition is the object, then such result should be attained through the police force of the state and through legislative enactments making the act, powers, or products which it is desired to suppress misdemeanors or felonies. The manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors, in common with all other branches of business, is a legitimate subject for taxation, but there is a broad distinction—indeed, nothing in common—between taxing this business for revenue and attempting to make the receipt of revenue proportionate to the expense which such business entails upon society and the state and in levying taxes with a view of preventing the business from being transacted at all and so preventing revenue.

If the above analysis of the origin, justification, and limitations of the power of taxation is correct, it would seem evident that to seek to make the occasion for the exercise of the power other than necessity, and the object anything else than the raising of money for meeting the expenditures of a government economically administered is to strike a blow at not only good government, but also at free government. It is also a flat denial of the authoritative statement of the United States Supreme Court that "there are rights in every free government beyond the control of the state," and that the theory of our Government, State and National, admits of no place for the deposit of unlimited power. For the deliberate recognition and indorsement of the right on the part of the state to disregard these limitations in a single instance is equivalent to a denial that there are any such, and certainly in this one department makes the government despotic rather than free. Once recognize the principle of inequitable taxation, and no one can foresee how far it may be carried.

The lesson of all history is to the effect that, save in the case of war or invasion, nations have rarely or never lost a freedom once possessed, except through a tolerance (born of indifference) of a succession of gradual and insidious perversions and weakening of those fundamental principles which must be maintained unimpaired to make popular liberty possible. And it is alike startling and discouraging to note how rapidly, in recent years, the United States, as a political entity, has been travelling in this direction.

The idea of using the power of taxation for other purposes than that of obtaining revenue for defraying the necessary expenditure of the Government was one hostile at the outset to all the beliefs and

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habits of thought of the American people; was totally incongruous with the social and political system which they instituted and expected, and was reluctantly admitted under the idea that the industries of a new country might need some temporary stimulus and assistance at the outset.[1] The old Whig party did not advocate the theory of protection as an article of faith. It admitted that the Federal Government had no original right to exercise the power of taxation except for revenue, but it claimed that taxes on imports might and should be so adjusted as to afford protection to our infant industries. And in this they were joined by some Democrats who argued in favor of what was called "incidental" protection, or the protection which inevitably results in a greater or less degree from the imposition of duties without any such premeditated purpose. But it was not until after our late war that anybody ventured to openly maintain or defend the proposition that protection was other than the incidental and not the main object of the exercise of the taxing power, although this perversion of principle was tacitly recognized by the imposition and continuance of taxes which had for their intent or resulted in a prevention of the raising of revenue.

One of the most instructive examples of this kind was afforded by the imposition of a tax in 1869 of five cents per pound on the importation of crude or unmanufactured copper, which proved so prohibitive that in one year (1878) revenue to the extent of only five cents, accruing from the importation of only one pound of copper, was collected. The legislators who enacted the law productive of such a result might have pleaded in justification that revenue was their intent;[2] but when a brief experience had proved that the taxing power had been used to prevent the raising of revenue by the state, and for a different purpose, it was evident that a continuance of the policy (and the tax was long retained) was in effect a justification and an indorsement of it. To complete the illustration, it should be further pointed out that the result of this perversion of the taxing power was to enable the owners of copper mines in the United States, especially certain ones of unprecedented richness—formerly the property of the

[1] The doctrine of Hamilton was that while the payment of bounties for the encouragement of new industrial undertakings was justifiable, their "continuance on manufactures long established was most questionable." "Report on Manufactures," 1791.

[2] The United States Supreme Court has held that the judicial power cannot inquire into the intentions of Congress in imposing a tax; and that if injustice is done, the only remedy is an appeal to the legislative power that has inflicted it.

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United States, but sold for a mere song—to extort for a period of years from the people of the whole country the sum of five cents for every pound of copper they consumed, but from which exaction (aggregating millions) the people of other countries, who consumed the large surplus product of American copper exported, were exempt, as the tax laws of all countries have no extra-territorial jurisdiction. During the discussion, enactment, and defence of the so-called "McKinley tariff," however, all pretence and evasion were discarded, and the position openly taken that the Government could rightfully levy taxes, not for the purpose of raising revenue, and not to subserve any necessity of the state, and under the name of protection delegate to private or corporate interests the right to collect and appropriate them.

Again, no more disgraceful reflection on the intelligence of the American people was ever made than was involved in their sanction of an attempt to use the power of taxation for the prevention of the use of one of the great discoveries of the age, namely, the manufacture of artificial butter, which, when properly prepared, is a most valuable and perfectly healthful addition to the food resources of the people. The practical results of this attempt are exceedingly curious and ought to be in the highest degree instructive. The burden of the tax has not been sufficient to accomplish the object of its levy, for the annual production, sale, and consumption of oleomargarine in the United States has continually increased (from 30,797,000 pounds in 1889–90 to 43,215,000 pounds in 1890–91 and 47,283,000 pounds in 1891–92), and the Federal courts have decided that it is a merchantable article.[1] The Government derives a considerable revenue from its production and sale; and if such production and sale are fraudulent and wrong, then the Government has become a partner in such fraud and wrong and in effect licenses them.

Next, a measure known as the "Anti-Option" bill was introduced and found favor in Congress, which is nothing more nor less than an attempt to make people dealing in certain staple commodities honest by the exercise of the taxing power; a measure devised for effecting indirectly that which it would be unconstitutional to do directly; namely, to prevent trading in cotton, grain, etc., for future delivery, by first assuming that all such sales are "immoral, unnatural, unjust, and injurious," and then attempting to put an end to them, not by the exercise of the police power, but by licensing and taxing them, under

[1] Being such, a state may to a certain extent regulate its sale, but it cannot prevent its importation.

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a pretence of collecting revenue, and intentionally fixing the license and tax at a rate so high as to prevent the raising of any revenue. It is difficult to see why, if this extraordinary measure is made law and obligatory on all citizens, the policy of restraint involved should not be made also applicable to the buying and selling of all articles other than cotton and cereals—as cloth, stoves, boots and shoes, securities—and even personal service; and why, if it is right to extinguish one trade or calling by taxing it, every other may not be uprooted and extinguished in the same way.

Next we have a proposition from an eminent judge[1] to employ Federal taxation for the crushing out of State lotteries, with the absurd accompaniment of no revenue (taxes); for if the desired object is attained, the payment of taxes and the procurement of revenue will be prevented. It seems clear, also, that if such a measure was once adopted it would constitute a precedent and authority for the destruction by the Federal Government, through the exercise of the taxing power, of nearly every faculty or power now belonging to and exercised by the several States; and that houses of prostitution, gambling and liquor saloons, opium "joints," and other haunts of vice now under the control and supervision of the police powers of the States might be regulated or suppressed by Federal taxation, as well as lotteries.[2] Certainly since the proposition of the right of secession from the Union was made and stamped out, no proposition more fraught with prospective evil to the Republic has been advanced than that of Judge Cooley, that Federal taxation should be resorted to for crushing lotteries authorized by a State within its territorial jurisdiction. And yet such is the indifference of the public in respect to this matter that when application was made by a writer for opportunity to review the article of Judge Cooley, in the "Atlantic Monthly," its editor replied that he was unwilling "to publish any paper against the Federal taxation of lotteries"; and the editor of another leading magazine also declined to accept such review on the ground that the public was not interested in the subject.

During the early years of the late war, taxes were imposed on the circulation of the State banks, "manifestly with a view to raise rev-

[1] Judge Cooley, in the "Atlantic Monthly," April, 1892.

[2] When the Provincial Legislature of Canada recently decided to suppress lotteries in the Dominion, the measures which it instituted for so doing were the imposition of heavy fines and penalties, not only on those engaged in the business, but also upon those having lottery tickets in their possession.

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enue and inform the authorities of the amount of paper money in circulation, and for no other purpose." But in 1865 these taxes were greatly increased, not for revenue, but with the admitted intent of destroying all banking institutions chartered by the States, leaving only similar institutions chartered by the Federal Government in existence. The attempt was successful, although no one probably will seriously deny the constitutional right of States to charter banks,[1] and found justification under the then admitted necessity for the exercise of war powers. But this necessity having now passed, the continuance of the taxation in question is equivalent to an assertion that the Federal Government has a right to exercise this power not for revenue, and not therefore by reason of any necessity that can justify it.

Next we have a recent recommendation, from an eminent American writer on taxation, that a Federal tax should be imposed on silver, varying from month to month according to the changes in its market price as bullion, with a view of establishing and maintaining a parity of value between gold and silver, with, of course, a total disregard of the sole object and justification of taxation, namely, revenue. But the most curious illustration of the extent to which an entire misconception of the nature and functions of taxation has obtained favor in the United States is to be found in a pamphlet entitled "Rational Principles of Taxation," recently published by Prof. Simon N. Patten, professor of political economy in the University of Pennsylvania, and included among the authorized publications of the university. In this the author advocates the levying of taxes by the National Government for the purpose of effecting "stability in prices"; and on the assumption that a large and increasing percentage of the National wealth is consumed in the expenses of the retail distribution of commodities, proposes to remedy the evil by imposing a discriminating tax on retail dealers so heavy as to crush out all such whose business and profits in a given time do not exceed a certain amount to be prescribed by statute. Among the anticipated advantages enumerated by the author of the adoption of such a scheme would be the saving of rent "on one-half the stores" of cities and a great reduction of rent on the other half. "There would be little need

[1] In the case of Vesey Bank *v.* Fenno (8 Wallace, 552) the United States Supreme Court, "after the fullest consideration, held that the States possessed the power to grant charters to State banks"; that "the power was incident to sovereignty, and that there was no limitation in the Federal Constitution" of such power. Minority Report, United States Senate Committee on Finance, 1892.

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of advertising; . . . the stocks of goods carried by the whole trade would be greatly reduced, from which there would be great saving of capital." But "perhaps the greatest saving of all would arise from the reduction of the force of salesmen and in the cost of delivering goods." And finally, carried away apparently by a beatific vision of the glories of such a tax millennium, the professor exclaims, "Think of all the elements of economy in conjunction, and an idea can be formed of the amount of taxes that could be levied on retail dealers without putting the public to any inconvenience";[1] and "would not the unnecessary capital now absorbed in business be fully sufficient to furnish us with pure water, lovely parks, fine art galleries," etc.? One can hardly escape the thought, on reading this remarkable essay, that if the Federal Postmaster-General did not suggest its writing and publication, it was exactly what it was for his special interest to do.

In view of such experiences and propositions, the questions are most pertinent: How much further is such a perversion of the taxing power to be carried? And is not our entire recent experience as a nation in this respect, in the direction of supplanting a "free" by a "paternal" government, which last in turn finds its highest expression in the enactment of sumptuary laws for the control by government of the private life of its citizens? All despotic power is alike in its nature; and once indulged in, the results are always the same. Once let it be fully accepted as a legitimate feature of public policy that the great public power of taxation may be intrusted to individual hands for private purposes, and the power of life and death will be promptly seized to make the former effective. Once confer upon government the power of dealing out wealth, and the day is not far distant (if it has not already come in the United States) when its recipients will control the Government and by the use of money elect their magistrates and legislators to perpetuate this policy.

The foregoing discussion leads up to and warrants the following conclusions:

First. That equal and honest taxation constitutes the foundation of every free government, and that the unimpaired maintenance of such taxation is essential to the continual existence of such government.

[1] Obviously Professor Patten supposes that the retail dealers of this country are such simple-minded people that they will cheerfully pay their proposed heavy taxes out of their capital, and not transfer them, through increased prices of their goods, to their consuming purchasers.

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Secondly. In order that taxation may be equal, honest, and not tyrannical, its exercise must conform to the following conditions. It must be justified by necessity or be absolutely essential for fulfilling the object of every truly free government; which is, not to abridge the liberty of the individual citizen in respect to either his person, business, or property, but to increase it by restraining and punishing all those who would lawfully encroach upon it. Its burden should not bear more hardly upon one man or class of men than on another. Its exercise by the state should contemplate no other purpose than the raising of money for defraying its expenditures.

Thirdly. The instant that these natural conditions, lawful purposes, and just limitations of taxation are violated; the instant that the state takes property from its citizens that is not needed or takes inequitably that which is needed, that instant the exercise of the power becomes a matter of will and might and not of law and right. The greatest evils that characterize free and popular governments of to-day are evils that result from the abuse of taxation, and their magnitude and tendency to increase are so great as to make the boast of individual freedom on the part of citizens in respect to the full ownership and control of their property very often little more than an unmeaning phrase. Shall these abuses be recognized and tolerated, and a tendency to further progress in this same direction be encouraged, or shall they be met with stern and uncompromising protests, immediate check, and ultimate complete arrest and prevention? These are the real questions at issue at the present time between the two great political parties of this country, and the situation exemplifies anew the lesson of history—that all the great contests for freedom from the earliest times have originated in abuses of taxation.

Sharp political criticism has been made, and during the present pending campaign will undoubtedly continue to be made, against that part of the platform adopted by the Chicago Democratic Convention which unequivocally asserts that "the Federal Government has no constitutional power to enforce and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only." Such criticism, however, has no validity if any respect whatever is to be paid to the true principles of taxation; and if such assertion, as is claimed, involves a "radical departure from any of the previous official utterances of the party," it is a departure in the nature of true progress and in the direction of freedom, and not a retrogression. In fact, the only mistake which the framers of that part of the Chicago platform made was that they did

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not go far enough in their declaration of principles. For although conversant with our tariff policy, they apparently did not see that there was a much more important matter involved in the present National political contest than the mere adjustment of duties upon imposts, and so failed to recognize and point out to the American people a greater truth; namely, that had the framers of the Federal Constitution even so much as dreamed that the government to be established under it would ever practically refuse to acknowledge any limitations on its right to interfere with the property of its citizens, would use the taxing power with undisguised intent for promoting private rather than public purposes, and would levy taxes to prevent the payment of taxes, the Constitution itself would never have been called into existence, and the great American Republic would never have had a history.[1]

DAVID A. WELLS.

[1] For the views advanced in the above article respecting the origin, purposes, and limitations of the right of taxation, no claim for originality is preferred. At the same time they are not familiar to the public, are not embodied in any work on political economy, finance, or the polity of civil government with which the writer is conversant, and have been rarely discussed in a sense of full appreciation by American statesmen and politicians. The most marked exception to this latter statement is a remarkable speech delivered by Hon. W. C. P. Breckenridge, at Creston, Iowa, August 27, 1891; and in his speech in taking the chair at the National Democratic Convention in Chicago in June last, Hon. William L. Wilson showed that he clearly appreciated the dependence and existence of a free government on the correct and limited exercise of the function of taxation. Whatever of originality pertains to the subject should be credited to Hon. Theodore Bacon, of Rochester, N. Y., who, in an essay contributed in 1867 to the "New Englander," so originally and exhaustively discussed the subject that little more has been left to the present writer than to reproduce Mr. Bacon's statements and arguments and re-enforce and illustrate them by more recent experiences.

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THE ENLARGED CHURCH.

THE Christian Church bows to a constitutional law of our planet and slowly changes and advances. As the state under Victoria or King Oscar is not that state which once answered to the name of Zenobia or Augustus, as the literature of the English nation is not that shape of thought which once found utterance through the Hebrew and Sanskrit tongues, so the popular religion of our period is not that faith and practice which prevailed when King David ascended the marble steps of his temple or when Paul delivered his sermon on Mars Hill. As in painting the artist first draws in outline and with a few pencil-marks foreshadows a great picture, so in religion the earliest ages draw a mere sketch of the virtues and deeds which the subsequent times must produce. All the good of our race is cumulative. If the physical globe is growing under a perpetual shower of star-dust which makes the sky blue and helps compose the rich colors of the sunset, not otherwise do knowledge and sentiment grow wider and deeper as the centuries come and go. That would not seem a wise Providence which should permit the mind to remain shallow and should constantly deepen the earth's dust.

It is not known in what form or when or by what means man came into existence, but he has always acted in harmony with this formula: Given a good or a beauty, to find a greater beauty or a greater good. His world has therefore been cumulative, and his religion has always passed from one idea toward two and from one virtue to many virtues. All students of the qualities and habits of primitive man find his religion to have been composed largely of fear. Unable to escape the notion that an effect implied a cause, the primitive mind soon reached the conclusion that some cause or causes lay back of the many things the eye could see and the hand touch. But only a high education could have attached to this godhood great moral qualities. Early man could not ascribe to his Deity attributes undreamed of by man himself. The conception of a great cause must have reached our world long in advance of the notion of an all-wise and benevolent cause.

The historic religion began more as a dread than as a loving

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worship, and the first cardinal doctrine of early orthodoxy must have been formulated in the words that God must be daily appeased, that to keep on good terms with such a powerful being was the chief end of man. It exhausted the genius of priest and philosopher to invent the ways and means of keeping the sky at peace with the earth. The ill-nature of God was as extensive as his existence and ability. Kings, generals, and great citizens were always wondering how many lambs and oxen would be required to keep Jove or Jehovah in friendship with the fields until the wheat had been garnered and the grapes had escaped the last form of blight. The great poem of Œdipus cannot by all its eloquence and many-shaped excellence prevent the modern reader from regretting that Zeus should have become so indignant at a noble young prince who had unwittingly married his own mother. When Œdipus learned that his wife was also his mother, his own grief was so great as to render the wrath of the gods a spectacle wholly uncalled for. But with even the semi-cultured Greeks, the more the divine wrath the more perfect the religion. The early problem of religion was not chiefly how to fling a sweet "sop to Cerberus"; it was rather how to make a sop rich enough and sweet enough to pacify the Olympian group. Virgil was at last sufficiently thoughtful to raise the question whether ill-nature were the ideal condition of celestial minds—"*Tantæ-ne iræ?*"; but of the merit of hot indignation as a divine attribute, primitive theologians had little doubt.

This first cause not only was capable of great and prolonged wrath, but it was also the embodiment of all that egotism and selfishness which in the department of human life came with authority and power. If a chief of a tribe or the monarch of a state were always marked by a certain self-consciousness which our times might perhaps designate as self-conceit, what a colossal self-esteem must have characterized the Creator and owner of all things in the whole circle of space and time! The ancients assumed the unbounded self-love of the Deity, and therefore the early worshipper added to fear the perpetual desire to confess Heaven's greatness. Along came the people with their two sentiments, dread and self-abnegation. As when the king was passing the true subjects lay down in the dust or mud, that in such rows of prostrate forms the potentate might read his own greatness, so when the loyal subject of a god assumed himself to be near his deity, down went his body to the dust, that in such acts of human humility the heavenly king might reach a new sense of his own exalted condition and destiny.

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Language and art and passion urge into the service of expression the well-known power of contrast. Painters do not make the color of a sky or of a piece of woods by working only at the sky or at each leaf. They work in some adjacent spot or spots of the canvas, and exalt the blue of the air or the picture of the woods by artistic manipulation of what is neither sky nor forest. From no field of thought has this power of contrast been absent. When the early religionist longed to confess the glory of his maker, unable to put a more brilliant jewel in the divine but invisible crown, he placed ashes upon his own head, and thus made sackcloth and dust proclaim the splendor which no art or language could directly express.

It is not necessary that the student of religion should find how far into the history of Christianity these two sentiments, dread and contrast, moved, and how rapidly they faded before the widening and deepening truth of an advancing race; but it does seem the painful duty of the Christians of to-day to confess that under those simple words, "the glory of God," lay for many a century the unhappiness and degradation of mankind. It is almost within the reach of living memory that God was thought of as a mighty conqueror who was made only the more illustrious by the length and breadth of the desert left behind by his chariot wheels. The barbaric primitive human taste which could once be thrilled with pleasure by the exploits of an Alexander or a Cæsar advanced far into the career of Christianity and clothed with attractiveness the sweeping desolation which the Almighty had wrought among the earthly millions, and which was liable at any moment to be repeated in the present or future arenas of life. Our fathers not remote felt that religion was all to be exhausted in the effort to compliment the Creator. The "glory of God" was little else than an enormous self-love. In the Christian centuries in which this "glory" flourished, humanity sank that God might be exalted. The story repels by its sadness. Heaven was the home of a selfishness which asked all things and gave but little. Men, women, and children complimented the infinite Father because he had, for a time at least, kept them away from a consuming fire. It was often assumed that the greatness of God made his will an absolute, spotless morality, and that no creature might complain at the alleged theory and practice of the Creator, for the infinity of Jehovah permitted him to do what he would with his own. The lump of clay must not dictate to the potter; it must bless the potter for the privilege of revolving on his wheel.

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The Christian Church may well designate as sad and wasteful all those centuries in which it attempted to encourage and gratify the infinite self-love which seemed enthroned in the heavens. It ought to have perceived that all moral principles were universal and perpetual. Their arena is not only amid human life, but it expands and is amid all the forms of intelligent being. If the human soul cannot be ennobled by a self-aggrandizement, pure and simple, a divine soul must be subject to the same incapacity. It is not possible for self-love to be the attribute of a god. In all those times when the worshippers in both pagan and Christian temples were marching up marble steps that they might tell the Lord again and again the story of his own greatness, the air was full of rebukes and whisperings. The Almighty must have wished that his children would bring to his altars the many-shaped greatness of their race. Could the sacred temples have spoken for their Deity, they would have uttered the sublime ethics of Jesus: "What ye do for these little ones, ye do for me."

The past of the Church includes not only this long effort to applaud the Almighty, but also a period of the supremacy of doctrine. By processes which seem lost, the Infinite Being was made into an ardent admirer of forms and fashions. The vastness of creation and the sweep of years which struck with awe the astronomer and the geologist, the amazing heights and depths, that grandeur which not only thrilled the Galileos and the Newtons, but which also created them, did not excuse the Almighty from being partial to a mode of baptism and from a disposition to make his children study hard the lessons of "eternal procession" and "total depravity." There were centuries which were rich in the possession of about two hundred doctrines, each one of which was assumed to be utilized in saving a soul and in pleasing the Heavenly Father. Before the constitutional republics of America and France came into existence, there passed along a great procession of nations founded upon practices which are now designated as "red-tape." In the theory of Darwin, man wriggled a million years while he was learning to walk nobly and erect. In the history of nations there was a long wriggling period. Mankind was waiting for principles to arrive. No history of the Church will be complete which shall omit those years in which, vital ideas being absent, the clergy governed with a red-tape manual the kingdom of man's God.

These facts may be recalled the more willingly because the heart is cheered by the reflection that they have passed away. God's self-

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love has been eclipsed by his love of his rational beings. The awful isolation and solitude of the Creator have been broken up, and the Father is with the children. Worship has not declined, but it has asked an elevated humanity to be a part of its hymn and prayer. As the classic matron said, "These are my jewels," so the Christian Church would point to happier men and women and say, "These are a part of my prayers."

It has now been about three hundred years since the human mind began to study itself and its world. The philosophers assumed that man must master his own planet. If it were true that he was on his way to a second life, he must all the more industriously exhaust the lessons and duties of this career. If man has two lives they must be cognate. If death only divides it must divide a lesser beauty from a greater, wisdom from more wisdom, and love from love. This new philosophy opened to society a new field of action and to the Church a new form of religious being and conduct. It began to say, I must build up this earthly kingdom. It is a part of the divine empire. Any slights shown the earth are shown to Heaven, because all human years are interwoven.

The Church of the present is seen reaching out toward man in all the great breadth of that term. It still busies itself over the salvation of the soul; but it has slowly added to that work the task of making the rescue assume the preliminary form of salvation from ignorance and vice and poverty. The older Church worked to remove or obviate a special misery called by the many names of "Hell," "eternal pain," or "banishment"; but the later logic asks the sanctuary to consider all misery as near of kin, and to connect the mind which suffers in this life with the mind which may perhaps suffer beyond the tomb. Ignorance, vice, poverty, injustice, are viewed as calamities, and must be treated as a part of that deep shadow which in its blackest form makes up a "lost soul." All tears need pity, fall in what world they may.

Worship has added to its old repertory the notion of honoring God through his works. As the best praise of an artist is the matchless beauty of his canvas, as the best fame of a vocalist is found in the sweetness of the song, so the most rational and most impressive worship of the Deity will be found in that hour or nation which shall lead up to his altars the most enlightened and most moral characters. The worship can be most improved by improving the worshipper. The "Book of Common Prayer" need not be read more frequently nor

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with louder voice. The little volume, standing the same from generation to generation, asks only for lips which can utter its petitions in more of uprightness and peace.

It is indeed possible that some congregation or some pastor may be making his meeting-house too earthly and may be teaching a gospel that is too "muscular"; but these cases seem sporadic and need not weigh heavily against the new truth that the Christian Church is looking toward and must look toward the complete interest of man as a mind, a body, a soul. If we assume the existence of a personal God, we must assume that the Church is such a general agent of God that it must see to it that man "suffers no detriment." Whether the detriment threatens to come from the state or from the misfortunes of society or from its vices, the Church must stand forth as the defender and savior of the sufferer. It is the earthly administrator of a celestial kindness and right. It is, however, no such agent of Heaven as that one which once under the name of Protestant or Catholic attempted to rule the race. It is only an administrator of Heaven's wisdom, Heaven's eloquence, persuasion, and solicitude. It is an agent of Heaven as art is an agent of beauty. Art carries no whips. It does not drive slaves; it leads lovers. It studies and seeks and expresses all the forms of beauty. It watches the leaf fluttering in the wind; it notes the drifting summer cloud; it studies the features of the Madonna. It is the purveyor of a heart which it daily makes more hungry. Thus the new Church of the Christian discovers and secures for its members and friends the most possible of all physical and spiritual good. It possesses no authority; it cannot decree like a state. It rules only as a vast wisdom joined to a vast friendship.

The present situation of the Church would seem expressed should we say that its old kingdom of worship has opened to admit the kingdom of benevolence. Even when the Salvation Army marches at night in the streets of London or Liverpool or Paris, it is not difficult to admire that wisdom and kindness which appeal to the higher nature of a wicked, reckless man, and persuade him to dress and act like a soldier and to march under a banner inscribed with the name of the Lord. There may be puerilities in the code and practice of that organization; but when a depraved and purposeless, hopeless soul turns away from its moral ruin and begins to march toward that goal marked out by such a captain of salvation as that one who first led men in Judea, the puerilities fall away from the case and leave it worthy of manhood's highest respect.

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The annexes to the Holy Temple are numerous. Sometimes the modern meeting-house contains a well-furnished kitchen. Perhaps an exhaustive criticism would "draw the line" at kitchens. This essay is not meant to contain a last analysis. Acute minds will perhaps arise to find the exact religious and social bearing of the strawberry-festival and the oyster-supper. Up to this date the most popular objection to the religious oyster-supper has been embodied in the complaint that too much happiness and nutriment have been expected from a single member of this bivalve family. Let us have little to do with such details. It is evident that the Temple has been enlarged and improved. The names of the additions would fill a page. The "Young Men's Christian Association," the "Young Women's Christian Association," the "Woman's Christian Temperance Union," the "Society of Christian Endeavor," the "Red Cross" and the "White Cross" societies, the "Episcopal Guilds," the "Helping Hands," the "Young Woman's Friendly," are only a few of those terms which tell the story of a widening Church.

When the Church began to care for mind, soul, and body, and began to make a cultivated earth the logical prelude to the ultimate streets of gold, it compelled the pulpit to widen in scholarship, mental power, and sympathy. A demand sprang up for minds which could make a survey of man's condition and hopes. Theology at once expanded until it admitted social questions and inquiries; and the men who once needed only to apply texts of Scripture to a careless sinner or a trusting saint found themselves compelled to study the whole history and need of mankind. Heaven suddenly annexed earth. The men who had preached about Paradise were compelled to add to their subjects the fields and shops and mines and the duties and perils of labor and capital. The Church, in studying man as man, indirectly acted upon its clergy, and compelled them to prepare themselves for a wider intellectual career. This new mental power, this new influx of practical earthly philosophy, is the potent cause of the decline of doctrine which is now visible in the many of the Christian denominations. The mind which once loved to find and mark hidden meanings in the Scripture and wonderful distinctions between terms and entities, longs now to work in and for the swarms of human life and to say with Charles Kingsley, "I have loved the world, I now love it, I shall love it always." The difference becomes less between the clergyman, the statesman, and the philanthropist. Each one must equal all manhood.

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There is no proof that these new applications of the Church are making the Christian character less full of worship. It is probable that the greater mankind becomes the more adorable will be its origin. By so much as society enlarges and ennobles itself, by so much should it bow the more lovingly before the Power which set going such wheels of mind and heart. The king is made great by the growth of his empire. If man could go from all degradation and sorrow to the altars of praise, with a profounder piety may he repair thitherward from a civilization full of greatness and happiness. As the most learned philosopher carries in his spirit a deeper sense of the world's mystery than can be found in the thoughts of a school-boy, so an age may well expect all its growth of learning and virtue to deepen the solemnity of its thoughts and feelings about God. Worship ought to grow with the growing reasons for worship.

It is difficult to measure at a given place and time the status of this sentiment. Not all ages are open-hearted. Some races are silent in hours when other peoples are talkative. It is difficult to map and measure underground streams. There is reason to hope that the Christian Church of to-day, in its espousal of the temporalities of mankind, is not moving away from the altars at which all kindreds and tongues have cast down their offerings and chanted their psalms. Inasmuch as the greater man becomes the more he loves greatness, it ought to follow that religion, enlarged in wisdom, power, and love, ought all the more to feel thrilled by thoughts of the Creator of all things and of all life. It would be a misfortune should the sentiment of worship decline in this continent. The misfortune would not in the least fall upon man's God, but rather would it all rest upon that human soul which in order to be great and blessed must enjoy the advantages of living amid sublime thoughts and divine, even infinite, longings and passions.

DAVID SWING.

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RELIGIOUS PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO.

If the genus man is a religious being, the species Negro is pre-eminently so. Wherever you find him, in whatever state of civilization, whether living as a savage in the depths of the Dark Continent or as an educated and prosperous citizen of the United States, you find him ever ready to acknowledge the claims of religion and attentive to its forms. Worship seems to be a necessity of his nature. There may be Negro atheists, but we do not hear of them; there may be Negro doubters, too sceptical or indifferent to be moved to any kind of religious exercises, but they cannot be numerous, or the fact of their existence would have been impressed upon the world.

In his native condition, on the lakes, streams, or plains of his own continent, the Negro's religion generally is of a low and degraded type, but not uniformly so. He pays divine honors to his ugly, unshapely fetich; he resorts to cruel rites to overcome malignant influences; but he also has conceptions of a *Nyangmo* who sends the sunshine and the rain, who veils his face with the clouds and makes the stars his jewels. Old Mtesa, of Uganda, on the Victoria Nyanza, whom Stanley taught Christianity at a single sitting, so to speak, worshipped the spirits of the lake—the *lubari*—but vacillated between his ancestral religion and Islam and Christianity, according as the influences in favor of the one or the other happened to predominate; and his son and successor, Mwanga, has shown the same inconsistency. But fickleness is perhaps a peculiar taint of the royal blood, for the people, receiving Christianity from faithful missionaries, attest the strength and constancy of their attachment to it by their life-blood. That the native African passes quickly and easily from his heathen rites to those of Islam and Christianity is a matter of common knowledge; but that a poor, ignorant, superstitious slave boy should in the course of a few years become an educated, dignified, respected prelate of the Church of England shows that the native African is not only capable of being educated and Christianized, but of being polished in mind, manner, and faith so that such a distinguished body as the Anglican Episcopate should delight to do him honor.

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We have in the United States, according to the last census, about seven million four hundred and seventy thousand Negroes. It is well to remember that this includes not simply pure-blooded Africans, but all those as well who have a strain of Caucasian mixed with the darker current of their slave ancestry. Mulattoes, quadroons, octoroons, all who are known to have a drop of Negro blood in their veins are classed commonly as Negroes. Of this colored population, six million eight hundred and eighty-nine thousand are to be found in the old slave territory—sixteen States, including West Virginia, with the District of Columbia and Oklahoma. This leaves not more than five hundred and eighty-one thousand for all the rest of the Union, a smaller number than competent observers generally would have ventured to ascribe to twenty-eight States and three Territories. That ninety-one per cent of the Negro population, after the lapse of nearly three decades since emancipation, is still in the South is a fact which it is important to remember in considering their present condition of religious development and how they have reached it.

Such Christian instruction as the great bulk of the Negro population received before they were emancipated was given by the white churches of these States. The religious atmosphere surrounding them was that which the white man created. The faith of the master naturally became the faith of the slave; the denominations with which he preferred to worship were likewise the choice of his black servants. If there are great numbers of colored Baptists and Methodists in the South, it is because these forms of Christianity predominate among the whites; if there are few or no colored Unitarians or Universalists, the reason is that these bodies never had a footing among the whites of the South. The same explanation accounts in part for the fact that there are comparatively few colored Roman Catholics. Louisiana is the only one of the old slave States which had any considerable number of Catholic churches, excepting, of course, Maryland, the chief city of which gave the title to the oldest archiepiscopal see in the United States. In Louisiana, therefore, and in Baltimore are to be found nine-tenths of the colored Catholics.

As Methodists and Baptists are far more numerous in the South than all other white Christians, so also do colored Methodists and Baptists greatly exceed all other colored Christians. It is not to be assumed as a matter of course that these popular forms of faith are naturally most acceptable to the Negro, and that Presbyterianism or Congregationalism or even Catholicism would not have been as cor-

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dially embraced by him if any of these forms of worship had predominated among his masters. There is a quite prevalent opinion that the Negro does not take kindly to the Catholic ritual and ceremony. This is probably an inference from the fact that the number of colored Catholics is not large considering that Catholic priests have had access to the Negroes for more than a hundred years. If it is true, as has often been asserted, that the Negro is fond of that which is showy in worship, he ought to be attracted to the Catholic Church; but it is to be remembered that its service is largely conducted in a language which he does not understand and in which he cannot therefore freely take part. It leaves comparatively small play for the spontaneous expression of his feeling. Moreover, it has given him no priests of his own color until quite recently, and even yet not half a dozen in all; while the Methodist and Baptist churches have opened wide the ministerial door to him. It is also due to them to say that they were more earnestly devoted to his religious welfare in the days of slavery than any of the other denominations in the slave States.

The largest denomination of colored Christians in the South is the Regular Baptist. It has in round numbers one million two hundred and thirty thousand members. Of these, two hundred and eight thousand are in Virginia, one hundred and eighty-eight thousand four hundred in Georgia, one hundred and twenty-three thousand seven hundred in South Carolina, one hundred and ten thousand eight hundred in Mississippi, and one hundred and six thousand in North Carolina. These are the strongholds of colored Baptists. In no other State except Alabama do they approach one hundred thousand in number. These States are also, with a single exception, those in which the white Baptists are strongest. It will be interesting to compare the numerical strength of the two races in Baptist membership:

States.	Colored Members.	White Members.
Virginia	208,000	93,000
Georgia	188,400	142,500
South Carolina	123,700	83,600
Mississippi	110,800	121,500
North Carolina	106,000	139,000
Alabama	98,700	101,000
Kentucky	76,000	152,600
Totals	911,600	833,200

According to these figures, the colored Baptists exceed the white in these seven States by seventy-eight thousand four hundred. In two

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of the States, South Carolina and Mississippi, the colored population is larger than the white. In Kentucky there has been a small decrease in the colored population since 1880, and in Virginia only a few thousands of increase. Louisiana is, like South Carolina and Mississippi, a Negro State; but it is not a Baptist State, having only about twenty-seven thousand white and sixty thousand colored Baptists. These figures show that as a rule where the white Baptists are most numerous the colored Baptists are particularly strong. In Virginia, however, where the colored people constitute only thirty-two per cent of the population, the colored Baptists are more than twice as numerous as the white. It is not easy to find an explanation of this notable fact.

The colored Methodists of the South are not so numerous as the colored Baptists, and they are divided among several branches. First among these branches comes the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which had its beginnings in Philadelphia in the second decade of the present century and only secured a foothold in the South after the Civil War. It had a following in South Carolina of some three thousand members in the first quarter of the century; but in consequence of excitement among the whites over an uprising of slaves, the congregations were disbanded and some of the free members went North. After the close of the war this Church was warmly welcomed in the South, and there were large accessions to it and to the Methodist Episcopal (white) and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. It now reports in all the States four hundred and fifty-two thousand seven hundred and twenty-five members. In 1866 it had but seventy-five thousand. Here is a net increase in twenty-four years of three hundred and seventy-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-five, or more than six hundred per cent. How is it to be explained? By the fact that many of this number were already Methodists. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which was organized in 1845 as the result of a division in the Methodist Episcopal Church on the slavery question, had gathered upward of two hundred and seven thousand colored members. It had welcomed Negroes to its own churches, building galleries for their use or providing separate pews for them on the main floor; it had assisted them to procure houses of worship for themselves, and by establishing missions among plantation Negroes and appointing its own white ministers to preach the Gospel to them it had wrought a notable work among them. In 1860 its colored members constituted about twenty-nine per cent of its entire numerical strength.

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The freedom of the black man and the opening of the South to Northern churches, and the temporary prostration of the Southern Church so that it could not properly care for its colored members, led thousands of them to forsake its communion and unite with those bodies which, coming from the North, were hailed as bringing the gospel of freedom to them. The African Methodist Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal, and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion, together with the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, which the Southern Church organized in 1870 to save the remnant of its colored constituency, shared the "spoils" which emancipation and the result of the war offered them. Each of these bodies has done a large evangelizing and educational work among the blacks, particularly the Methodist Episcopal, with its numerous and well-equipped schools, and the African Methodist Episcopal, which is more completely organized than either the Zion or the Colored branch. The combined strength of these four churches is about one million one hundred and seventy-three thousand. Other small bodies will raise the total of colored Methodists to about one million one hundred and eighty-six thousand.

These, with the colored Baptists, constitute the great bulk of colored Christians in the United States. Among the Presbyterians, North, South, and Cumberland, the Congregationalists, who have done an educational work for the freedmen second to that of no other denomination, the Disciples of Christ, the Episcopalians, including the Reformed, there are some thousands of Negroes. The Roman Catholic Church has twenty-five churches composed almost exclusively of colored persons, with a total of Negro communicants of about one hundred and twenty-one thousand. Gathered into tabular form the result is about as follows:

	Members.
Colored Baptists	1,230,000
Colored Methodists	1,186,000
Colored Catholics	121,000
Colored Presbyterians	31,500
Colored Disciples	31,000
Colored Congregationalists	6,125
Colored Episcopalians	4,900
Total colored Christians	2,610,525

This total does not include some thousands of Negro communicants scattered among white congregations, nor all colored congregations in the North and West. The census inquiry has not proceeded

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far enough as yet to secure full and exact results as to colored organizations; but the final figures are not likely to add more than from thirty thousand to fifty thousand to the total above given. The proportion of communicants of all denominations to the population of the country is believed to be about one out of every three; that is, in our population of sixty-two and a half millions, we have about twenty million eight hundred and sixty-six communicants. This proportion is more than maintained among the Negroes. On the basis of their population of seven million four hundred and seventy thousand, they should have two million four hundred and ninety thousand members. They go beyond this by one hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and twenty-five, or, with due allowance for the colored congregations and members scattered through the Northern States, one hundred and sixty thousand. So far as figures go, this should be accepted as quite satisfactory.

The proportionate number of slaves who were professed Christians in 1860, which is not and cannot be known, is needed to show the full significance of the fact that in 1890 nearly one out of every three Negroes was a church-member. The proportion must have been considerably below this in 1860. Here are a few reasons for thinking so. The great body of colored Methodists in 1860 were in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The number reported was two hundred and seven thousand. Besides these, there were in the colored and other branches sixty-five thousand to seventy thousand more, making in all about two hundred and seventy-five thousand. As there were one million one hundred and eighty-six thousand in 1890, the increase since 1860 has been nine hundred and eleven thousand, or about three hundred and thirty-one per cent. Two hundred and fifty thousand would be a very liberal estimate for the number of colored Baptists in 1860. Upon this basis there has been a net gain of about nine hundred and eighty thousand colored Baptists in the thirty years, or nearly four hundred per cent. This increase must not be entirely attributed to evangelization; doubtless many colored communicants in the days of slavery were not organized into churches and reported in the denominational statistics.

Church organizations of Negroes have established, since the close of the war, universities, colleges, academies, called thousands of men into the ministry, and provided many houses of worship. The value of the property in church buildings and lots which colored Christians have acquired for public worship shows that religion is not a mere

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camp-meeting affair in the thought and purpose of the Negro. The buildings in which he worships, with the ground on which they stand and their belongings, aggregate in value probably nearly or quite twenty millions of dollars. This, making due allowance for the encumbrances and for the help received from white persons, shows how ready he is to make large financial sacrifices for religion's sake, and how his industry, thrift, and business capacity have been brought into play.

The common idea respecting the Negro's religion is that it is a crude and superficial form of Christianity and exercises but little moral influence upon his life. He is religious, intensely religious, many insist, but he is not moral. Faith in a system which embraces and enforces the Ten Commandments and requires purity of life does not seem to him inconsistent with the constant violation of one or more of these commandments and with a notoriously impure career. Caught in wrong acts and publicly exposed, he feels no hesitancy in continuing his church duties and perceives no incongruity between his profession and his guilty life. Moreover, he is superstitious, still entertaining some of the crude notions of African savagery concerning witches and evil possessions and using strange ceremonies to ward off the bad spirits. There may be *voudou* doctors among them and peculiar exercises for the casting out of witches; no doubt many of them have ideas impossible to cultivated Christians.

It would be strange if it were not so. Has all trace of superstition disappeared from the Saxon Christian after centuries of cultivation in the faith? It is only fair to remember that the Negro emerged from barbarism at no ancient date; that the space of time between him and his heathen practices is measured by one or two, while that between the Anglo-Saxon and barbarism covers many centuries. It is also fair to take into account the fact that the masses of the colored race have not yet been a generation out of slavery, which, while it did not forbid but favored the religious instruction of the slave, did generally aim to keep him ignorant of books and illiterate. His illiteracy was insured in Virginia, South Carolina, and other States by laws imposing penalties on persons attempting to teach him to read or write. Of course the purpose of his owners in debarring him from educational advantages was to make him more content with his condition as a chattel. Education would have developed notions of liberty in him. Unless these vitally important considerations are kept in view, it will be impossible to arrive at any just conclusions as to what religion has done for the Negro in America.

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Christianity did much for him as a slave; it can do much more for him as a free man. It made him long for freedom; the hope for freedom became a part of his religion. As one of his own race, Dr. E. W. Blyden, has eloquently expressed it:

> "There streamed into the darkness of their surroundings a light from the cross of Christ, and they saw that through suffering and affliction there was a path to perfect rest above this world; and in the hours of the most degrading and exhausting toil they sang of the Eternal and the Unseen; so that while the scrupulous among their masters often, with Jefferson, 'trembled for their country,' the slaves who had gained a new language and new faculties were enjoying themselves in rapturous music—often laboring and suffering all day, and singing all night sacred songs, which in rude but impressive language set forth their sad fortunes and their hopes for the future."

The slave had a capacity for moral, mental, and social improvement. The United States Commissioner of Education, the Hon. W. T. Harris, has recently said of the Negro's slave life:

> "By contact with the Anglo-Saxon race in the very close relation of domestic servitude, living in the same family, and governed by the absolute authority which characterizes all family control, the Negro, after two and a half centuries, had come to possess what we may call the Anglo-Saxon consciousness."

That is, with the exception of those in the "Black Belt" who, in plantation life, were separated from white influence, the Negro is "thoroughly imbued with nearly all the ideals and aspirations which form the conscious and unconscious motives of action with the white people among whom he lives."

It is this consciousness which makes vain the prophecy of those who insist that his tendency, in the state of comparative isolation into which freedom and independence have brought him, is to "revert to all the distinctive features of his African ancestors." "Freedom itself," observes Dr. J. L. M. Curry, a Southerner and an honored Baptist minister who is deeply interested in the development of the Negro, "is self-educating." The Negro understands what way he must take to reach the heights of superiority, and he is eagerly seizing upon the educational advantages offered him. His isolation from higher influences and models is more apparent than real, we must conclude, when we learn that a million and a quarter of Negroes were in school in the South in 1889. Education tends to make isolation impossible.

Intelligent Christians are of course the best Christians. The vastly increased school attendance of the whites of the South shows that the dominant race appreciates this truth as never before. The Southern

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churches are giving more and more attention to the need of better educated colored ministers and teachers. The Northern churches have been laboring assiduously to supply this need since the war, and among the results is a large and increasingly intelligent Negro ministry and a corps of Negro teachers. The report for 1892 of the Southern Baptist (white) Home Missionary Board says of colored Baptists:

"The work of evangelization among them is largely done by their numerous ministry. The ratio of church-membership among them is greater than among the white people, even of the South. Their own efforts have enabled them out of their poverty to supply themselves in a large measure with houses of worship. Even in this respect they are not so needy as some of our white churches in various sections of the country."

A paragraph in the report for 1889 of the Board of Missions of the Georgia Baptist Convention is significant:

"There is no mistaking the fact that there is on the part of the Negroes an earnest desire to acquire knowledge. This is seen in their anxiety to get books and to read them, and very marked in sending their children to the schools through the country. In this respect they show more concern than the illiterate whites."

Their progress has been moral as well as educational. A recommendation which closes the episcopal address to the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1888 speaks volumes both as to the prevalence of immorality and the discernment of it: "No bigamist shall have any place either in our conferences or churches"; that is, either among ministers or members. When this same Church entered South Carolina after the war, the ministers from the North had, says one of their members, James H. A. Johnson, D.D., even to teach the plantation Negroes how to receive the bread and wine of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He adds:

"The domestic relationship was so debasing by an ignorance of connubial rites that some remedy had to be supplied for it. Those who had been for a long time living together as man and wife were joined as husband and wife. Funerals had to be regulated in order that they might be characterized by the solemnity due them."

Dr. Curry says that religion and virtue "are often considered distinct and separate things" in the "Black Belt." The hopeful feature of the case lies in the Negro's growing sense of the incongruity of religion and immorality and in his appeals to his own people to aspire to purer lives.

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Everybody knows into what excesses the emotional nature of the Negro often leads him in worship. But everybody does not know what efforts his bishops and ministers are making to correct these abuses. I cannot forbear quoting somewhat at length from Bishop D. A. Payne's "Recollections of Seventy Years," a most interesting book by a refined and cultured Negro leader and bishop, to show the common form these excesses take and how he has sought to induce the ministers to abolish them:

"In 1878 I attended a 'bush-meeting,' where I went to please the pastor whose circuit I was visiting. After the sermon they formed a ring, and with coats off sang, clapped their hands, and stamped their feet in a most ridiculous and heathenish way. I requested the pastor to go and stop their dancing. At his request they stopped their dancing and clapping of hands, but remained singing and rocking their bodies to and fro. This they did for about fifteen minutes. I then went, and taking their leader by the arm requested him to desist and to sit down and sing in a rational manner. I told him also that it was a heathenish way to worship, and disgraceful to themselves, the race, and the Christian name. In that instance they broke up their ring, but would not sit down, and walked sullenly away. After the sermon in the afternoon, having another opportunity of speaking alone to this young leader of the singing and clapping ring, he said, 'Sinners won't get converted unless there is a ring.' Said I, 'You might sing till you fell down dead, and you would fail to convert a single sinner, because nothing but the Spirit of God and the Word of God can convert sinners.' He replied: 'The Spirit of God works upon the people in different ways. At camp-meetings there must be a ring here, a ring there, a ring over yonder, or sinners will not get converted.' . . . These 'bands' I have had to encounter in many places. . . . In some cases all that I could do was to teach and preach the right, fit, and proper way of serving God."

The Negro imitates his white brethren in many things, both good and bad. He imbibes to some extent their sectarian feeling; Negro Baptists delight in making proselytes of Negro Methodists, and *vice versa*. In some directions, however, the Negro will not follow his white brethren. Among the whites are many thousands known as "Primitive," "Old School," or "Hard-Shell" Baptists. They do not believe in Sunday-schools or missionary societies, and are otherwise antiquated and unprogressive in their notions. The great mass of Negro Baptists are of the progressive sort. Probably not as many as five hundred of them belong to the "Old School." They are heartily and almost invariably "New School" Christians.

H. K. CARROLL.

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A CHINAMAN ON OUR TREATMENT OF CHINA.

THE Absolute Exclusion Bill, passed by the House, has been rejected by the Senate. I congratulate our country on having been spared another humiliation, and I likewise congratulate the United States on the proof that there are yet men who are (to use the language of one of her own eminent scholars in connection with another international event) "too jealous of the fair name of their Republic not to resent a position which would place their country in the light of the half-civilized swaggerer who knows his strength and is ready to use it whenever a chance is offered of victory over a weak opponent."

But the defeat of the bill has caused, I fear, only a temporary cessation of the efforts made to exclude my countrymen from the United States; for as labor competition is unavoidable, race prejudice instinctive, egoism stronger than altruism, as the Republic is ruled by quantity rather than by quality and as China is not easily provoked to war, the conflict is irrepressible, and sooner or later, with a certain section of people and leaders, new exclusion bills will be concocted. Meantime, I venture to lay before the American public some facts and to make known the opinions and feelings of such as intelligently appreciate both sides of the question, if perchance they may help toward the solving of it. I do so with the belief that with the majority there is a strong desire for fair play.

The opposition to Chinese laborers has been put on various grounds at different times. The first outcry against them was that they were ousting the American laborers in underselling their labor. I remember reading the story of an American who had wood to saw and who refused a Chinaman offering to do the work for fifty cents, and gave it to an Irishman for seventy-five. The Irishman sublet it to the Chinaman and pocketed twenty-five cents. A Chinese government minister was quoted as saying that "Ireland was the only country the Irishman did not rule," having on his mind that it was the Irish laborers who brought about the anti-Chinese bills. Soon, however, there was another outcry. "The Chinese do not benefit, but impoverish our

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country. They eat their native food and wear their native clothing. They take their gains to their own land and don't spend them here." Later on, it was said that they were a degraded class of people and that they demoralized the country. Lastly, there are those who maintain that they do not assimilate with the white race, and that their coming in unrestricted numbers will cause danger of another "Negro problem."

At this distance of space, I do not pretend to know which is the true or the dominant reason. But of this I am convinced: that opposition from whatever reason is made prominent by race prejudice and by the question being dragged into politics; for as regards labor, I have read that "the number of Chinese employed in cheap labor is comparatively small," and that Italians, Hungarians, and Norwegians receive less pay than Chinamen do. As to the charge that the Chinese who go to the United States belong to low types of character, though it is greatly exaggerated, the same may be urged against others to an equal or greater degree and with less force to the Chinese, inasmuch as they live by themselves and have no opportunity to corrupt the morals of the country. The statement about food and clothing, etc., is puerile, not to say that what is imported for them pays a large duty to the Government and that Americans in China do exactly the same thing. The danger of another "Negro problem" is fanciful, because the Chinese here do not intend to become citizens. Against this dark side, if it can be called a dark side, I may say that they are industrious and inoffensive, willing to take up the work refused by white laborers. If they had a free field they would develop American manufactures and increase American commerce.

But granting all that has been urged, does not any international intercourse proceed on the principle of "give and take," and does not China also have to tolerate from the Americans what she would gladly be freed from? It was an American steamship company that first broke up, in part, our junk trade on the Yang-tse-Kiang; and from Confucianists, Buddhists, and Taoists there have been constant complaints against the presence of American missionaries as well as those of other nations, and expressions of a desire to be rid of them if possible. Between nations as between individuals, conflict of interest cannot be avoided. If America thinks that an influx of Chinese is ruinous to the country, the only proper course for her is to take counsel with China in the matter; for as long as there is intercourse between the two nations, it stands to reason that neither should take any action affecting the name or interest of the other without consulting the other.

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A statement is abroad that "the United States has become the advocate of the principle of international arbitration, and stands to the world to-day as the chief representative of that idea." Is this true only when she is in trouble with a really strong nation, and does she forget this idea when dealing with a weaker opponent? Mutual consultation on this emigrant question, as in all others, is the more rightful because it was the United States that first asked for commercial intercourse, not China. It was President Tyler, not H. M. Tau-kwong, who made the advance; and even at this day Chinese officials often say that it is foreigners who want to trade, and that China has everything and needs nothing from them. Again, citizens of the United States first encouraged the Chinese to immigrate. Is it not reasonable, then, for China to demand that in this conflict of interest no arbitrary and high-handed action shall be taken by the United States, but that there shall be forbearance and compromise?

We condemn the Exclusion Bill altogether, because it singles us out for exclusion and thereby degrades us, not only before the world, but before all other Asiatics. But I let that pass, because it was agreed to by the emperor after mutual consultation. We condemn, however, the one-thousand-dollar qualification bill, which was made a law without our knowledge and consent, and we condemn each and every effort to pass anti-Chinese bills without counsel having first been taken with our government. If we feel aggrieved at the American people's hostility, we feel indignant at their leaders for their *manner* of showing this hostility.

What effect has this treatment upon our people at large? There are only three newspapers in China; consequently the majority of the people are ignorant of the whole question, nay, they are ignorant of even the treaties. The articles in the "*Shun pao*" and the "*Hu pao*" echo the feelings of those in the northern provinces who are informed. One may notice that the tone of the papers is one of reproach and bitterness rather than of *vis et arma*, for our people are not warlike, and unless personally deeply provoked they "dare to be angry, but dare not to speak and act." Besides, scarcely any one in the United States emigrates, and so, individuals excepted, the question does not touch us closely. The "*Shun pao*," published in Shanghai, says:

"What is a treaty of peace but that two countries are to be at peace? If they in their intercourse with each other act fairly, they are at peace; but if either should be partial then there would be unfairness, and unfairness leads to cessation of peace."

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After quoting the eleventh article of the American-Chinese treaty of 1844 and the sixth of the Burlingame treaty of 1868, it went on:

"From these it may be seen that the Americans are to treat the Chinese in the same manner as the Chinese the Americans. Now, suppose China were to expel Americans or to prevent their coming: would Congress allow it to be done? It is indeed true that the Chinese in America sometimes commit crimes, but if such are to be deported, what of the Westerners in China who commit crimes? And there have been surely such. In these instances in the past we only petitioned their judges to try them; and though they have generally gone on the principle that 'punishment ought to be light where is any doubt of guilt,' and punished the offenders lightly when evidence was (to us) convincing, we never interfered with their judgment. . . . We see from this bill that America is bent upon breaking every intercourse with China and on abrogating the treaties. . . . She thus presumes on her might and ill-treats the Chinese laborers, who are but men of toil and without influence or power. She has that quality which causes men to tyrannize over the weak and to fear the strong. Does she not herself feel degraded? . . . It is known that the Chinese helped to open and to develop their country, and now they who were benefited by their labors have thus requited them. Is it in this manner that 'America is to treat the Chinese according as she treats the most favored nation'? She indeed can treat us with impunity, but as to how she is to face the world and with what countenance her citizens can quietly reside in our country, we do not wish to discuss."

But in Canton the feeling against America is strong. A friend who lately arrived from New York and who went south to see his relations tells me that the feeling there against America is also bitter, not only on the matter of exclusion, but on the consequent decay of business. I am strongly of the opinion that the riots there were aggravated by the antipathy of the returned emigrants.

But though the people are incensed more or less, according as they are more or less concerned and according to the extent of their knowledge, they leave the solution to the government; for ours is an absolute monarchy, where the authorities are everything and the people are nothing. Whatever the "father and mother of the people" do, it is as the law of the Medes and Persians. In fact, it is the very submissiveness of the people which has developed this monarchy of absolutism; so true it is that all institutions are determined by the character of the average people. What His Majesty and his councillors feel in the matter or intend to do I do not presume to know; but, like the people, they have no warlike spirit and perhaps will do nothing more than remonstrate and diplomatize. Marquis Tsêng, the late talented statesman, was the only high official who ever expressed an opinion on this subject; and his statement was that China was going to utilize the laboring classes by settling them in

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uncultivated districts of Mongolia and Kashgar, and thus retain them at home.

Such being the general ignorance of the question and the comparative indifference of those who know it, and such being also the money-getting propensity of the race, the American-Chinese trade will be little affected by the strain of relations and, unless the government retaliates (which to speak truly is little to be feared), will continue as before. What America has to fear is not from China, but from the fact that she stands before the world convicted of injustice toward a weak nation, and that she puts her citizens here in a delicate and painful situation. An American Protestant-Episcopal clergyman in Han-Kow, anticipating the adoption of the Geary Bill, wrote to his archdeacon: "If this bill is not rescinded—and there seems no chance of that—we had better turn our Chinese mission over to the Church of England and devote ourselves to Japan." This was not because he apprehended retaliation from the Chinese, but, as a man of honor and self-respect, he felt he could not face an audience. So the minister and consuls would feel in respect to the mandarins; so would merchants of the stamp of Russell, Cunningham, Heard, Olyphant, Purdon, and Wetmore feel in respect to their dealers; and so would every Christian man of every Christian country feel in respect to the pagan nations of the earth.

What, then, are the practical suggestions adapted to the situation? It seems to me the source of evil is the "favored-nation" clause; for while Americans in China enjoy under it equal privileges with China's other treaty powers, it is not so *vice versa*, as it ought to be. Hence our grievance and accusations of injustice. But in the nature of things this clause cannot work both ways, for the reason that whereas it is easy for China to treat America and other nations alike, all these nations being of the same race, religion, and civilization, and in some cases language also, it is quite difficult for America to treat China and other nations alike, for China differs totally from these in all such respects. Therefore this clause ought to be removed.

An entirely new treaty between America and China, based on grounds of reciprocity, should be made. Americans in China should relinquish their privilege of carrying on a river and coast trade, whether by steamers, ships, or by *lorchas*, the privilege of establishing manufactories and that of paying only a low tariff; and the Chinese should give up the privilege of settling everywhere in America, and settle only in certain cities, corresponding in number to those in China open to

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American merchants, storekeepers, etc. This restricted settling would of itself stop immigration, for laborers would not go to countries where no work was to be had. Those already settled in what hereafter may be called non-treaty cities could be registered by Chinese consuls, so that no new immigrants could go there, and the leaving or the death of the old ones would close these cities to the Chinese altogether. Those who wished to enter China for travel or for education could be regulated by passports, as the Chinese are in this country. I am speaking as a Christian, but non-Christians will surely have something to say on the subject of the residing of missionaries in non-treaty cities in China, which is at present allowed under the "favored-nation" clause, and to which the Chinese from their standpoint strongly and sincerely object. To meet concessions America ought to give some additional privileges, say in granting more treaty cities than an equal number or in freeing certain Chinese goods of duty.

YUNG KIUNG YEN.

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PROVINCIAL PECULIARITIES OF WESTERN LIFE.

It is an old truth, but only old men seem to understand the particular importance of honesty, simplicity, and order. Young towns, like young men, are constantly trying experiments, only to discover that the old way is so much better than any other that they are at last compelled to come back to it. Much has been said as to what is the greatest pity; I think it is that young men and young towns do not accept the lessons of their elders without the punishment of experience. Most Western country towns are guilty of all sorts of mistakes, because few of them have reached years of discretion. However wise a man may be in his individual capacity, and however wise he may have been as a resident of an older community, as a citizen of a new town he votes bonds with the recklessness that characterizes young men in giving notes, forgetting that pay-day will inevitably roll around and that they will probably not be prepared to pay.

Many of the great fortunes in the East were gifts from communities in the West. When it was decided to build a railroad in a certain direction, the people were asked to vote bonds, and the line selected by the engineers as the most feasible always had apparent opposition, which caused the people living along the best route to give liberal aid. In many cases the aid amounted to more than the cost of the railroad. The railroad companies usually made conditions favorable to the communities voting the aid; but in all cases of which I have any knowledge these conditions are violated, generally by agreement with the people themselves.

The usual plan is for the railroad company to agree to issue stock to the community voting aid; but this stock is finally given back to the railroad company in return for promises that are never fulfilled. The official representatives of the people who engage in these transactions are not dishonest men, as would be suspected; they are simply Western boomers, who receive some sort of a flimsy promise from the railroad company, and nearly always there is a public sentiment in favor of the transaction. A private car is uncoupled in a town and a railroad dignitary is known to be on board. A report is easily started

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by some interested person that the company is thinking of building shops to employ a thousand men. The dignitary says not a word, and the people fix up a story to suit themselves. Two or three visits of this kind result in the turning over by the county or city of its stock to the railroad company for a consideration of one dollar. I know of a case where a party of railroad officials stopped in a town in a private car, and although the people imagined that very grave questions were being discussed, I learned afterward that the officials talked about nothing save a plan to enlarge the ice-box in the official car so that it would hold another case of beer. In such cases the railroad company acts on the best business principles, the people on the worst; and this sort of carelessness distinguishes them in nearly everything they do.

The mania of Western people for voting bonds has been so pronounced that as States grow older legislative restrictions upon it have been found necessary; and these laws extend gradually Westward with the settlement of the country. In spite of their terrible experience with bond-voting, Western communities often evade the law. The people conspire for months to get control of their valuables, in order that they may give them away. If there is a valuable franchise in a Western country town, the people usually manage to give it away, the recipients being men who have probably been victims themselves in some new community. Not long ago Omaha voted an enormous lot of bonds to a railroad company, and the methods were those of the earliest bond elections in the West.

The theory of voting bonds is that posterity will have them to pay. The county in which I live has already paid more interest than it ever voted bonds, and the debt is still unpaid. In voting one hundred thousand dollars of seven per cent twenty-year bonds, people forget that they are creating a debt of something like two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This indifference to fact ruins most men; it is the trouble with most Western country towns. Experience teaches that many of our theories have no foundation in fact; yet we continue to teach them, to the exclusion of the truth. The Western orator never mentions the hard times that inevitably follow the good; he seldom mentions the follies of the people, but rather encourages them to continue their mistakes, by giving them a character they never possessed. We are forever dealing with theory, although the truth is different, and we all know it.

Most old men and most old towns live by the rule of fact; but

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there are so many young men in the West and so many new towns that the country is ruled by theory. The great lessons of life are few in number and very simple, but we make the mistake of calling them "old-fogy" ideas. The wisest men in the West are known as "old fogies"; you will find them opposed to every wild and impracticable scheme. They are the men who opposed voting the bonds we are now compelled to pay. The Jews are said to possess a secret with reference to Moses, and all good Jews are supposed to keep the secret quiet if they discover it by accident. We Western gentiles also have a secret, which is that there is not so much in theory as we have pretended for years, and we are all supposed to keep the fact quiet when, between the ages of thirty and forty, we discover it.

I wonder that a great poet does not come out of the West. The confidence of the Western man that his town lot will finally make him rich, somehow reminds one of the bard who longs so ardently for ambrosia and nectar, although about all he ever gets is cornbread and creek water. I have known men in the West who have been rich for years, and never had a dollar they could truthfully call their own. Magnificent fellows, these Western men, but they are poets, every one, content with a Pegasus in the absence of the horse they really need to plough corn. The boomer is only another name for a poet, and his plats are as unreal as the verses of his brother who has turned his attention to unrealities of another kind. You can go into the average Western country town with a scheme to manufacture oysters, and the people will attend your meetings and respectfully listen to your foolish plans rather than offend you by expressing the opinion that you are crazy, a probability they have discussed among themselves. Such politeness would surely nurture poetry.

I should say that towns came of age about as men do. At twenty-one a town has a good deal more corporate sense than it had when ten or fifteen years old; but it is not at its best, so far as common sense is concerned, until it is thirty or forty. The great mistakes in towns have been made early in their history. By the time a Western country town has learned that it is not to become a city, it has made mistakes that will forever interfere with its prosperity. This is also true of men; very few young men believe that they will be ordinary men at forty or fifty, but when they start down the hill they realize that their discomforts in old age will be largely due to mistakes in youth. To some extent this must always be true, but matters could be very much improved by admitting and teaching the truth, to the

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neglect of theories of no consequence whatever. Many of the cherished theories of Americans, which we nurture with great care, actually lead us away from the simple and important truth. It would be a good idea to employ a man to preach one day in every week against the folly of planting soft-maple trees, since sugar-maples may be had at the same expense; but in the absence of such practical preaching, the people do not discover their mistake until their soft-maple trees are covered with green worms and break in every high wind.

The great sin of Western men, if not of all Americans, is careless indifference to the simple and important rules of life. We do not make the best use of the abundance with which we are surrounded. We strive for rewards which are no rewards at all, and neglect the paramount virtues of economy, industry, and patience. Wherever there is poverty, we invent a theory and an apology which covers up the main fact that we are usually poor because we are shiftless. In the field of gold in which we have settled we run about undecided what to choose, and at last we save nothing. Collectively we are a wonderful people, but individually we do not accomplish as much as we should. Public extravagance has been copied into our living, and our public grievances are the result of our private follies.

I am an advocate of getting rid of boom values in men as well as in towns. The boom idea originated in the West, although it has lately been copied elsewhere and always to the disadvantage of those adopting the idea. Booms inevitably collapse, and we all know it; therefore there is no good excuse for investing in them. The wiser the man, the more likely he is to invest in a boom. I sometimes think that your wise man is more easily victimized than any other. I have passed through several booms, but I believe I never have known a fool to lose money by one. A friend of mine, a very wise man, once bought a piece of property of a fool during a boom, and he asked me if I thought a smart man like him was warranted in robbing a poor fool who did not know any better. The wise man worried a good deal about the transaction until the boom collapsed, and he has been busy during the past five years in paying out.

Every man who tells what the people ought to do, although he knows very well that they never will do it, is a boomer. Theorizing about men doing what nature never intended they should do is a favorite American weakness, and is more pronounced in the West than elsewhere. A promise will bring more in the Western market than in any other market in the world. Perhaps the reader has

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noticed that men never do what the newspapers say they should do: nature is so often called bad habit; but we keep on scolding, although there is not the slightest hope that theory will ever supplant fact.

The great need of Western country towns is manufactories. The people themselves should establish them, though the theory is that "Eastern capital" should undertake the ventures. Many citizens of Western country towns have money they do not know what to do with; but they seldom invest it in the enterprises which they clamor for "Eastern capital" to engage in. These citizens with money often have investments in other communities, in spite of the fact that such investments never pay as well as would investments at home. I can account for this only by the theory held by most Western people that they will finally remove to larger places. No Western man seems to be satisfied with the community in which he lives; he likes the West, but seldom the town where he is located. He does not expect to end his life there (although he usually does), and as a result he neglects his interests. Experience proves that the successful men are those who make few changes. Although money seems to be made more easily in places away from home, there is no doubt that wherever you go there is about the same clamor over a dollar. Making money is a matter of industry and saving, seldom of location. In the town where I live we have a habit of threatening to remove to a larger town not far away, which we all believe appreciates its citizens. The people of that town threaten to go to Chicago, and I have heard that the people of Chicago threaten occasionally to go to New York unless taxes are reduced or times improve. But in New York the rule is reversed; there is an impression in that big town that the proper place in which to get your rights and make money fast is the West. We are all dissatisfied, and every one of us makes a mistake in not being more content and therefore more at liberty to give his affairs intelligent attention.

The people of Iowa, after clamoring thirty or forty years for "Eastern capital," have themselves successfully engaged in manufacturing; but Kansas and Nebraska are still indignant because their natural advantages are not recognized. The wonder is that the people of Kansas and Nebraska do not take advantage of their own manufacturing opportunities, and thus realize on their loyalty to the policy of protection. The quantity of agricultural machinery sold in the two last-named States is enormous; but none of it is manufactured at home, although there is not the slightest reason why it

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should not be. American agricultural machinery is sold at lower prices in foreign countries than in Kansas and Nebraska, which means that the farmers of the West pay the manufacturers an unfair profit. But there is no protection for the people of Kansas and Nebraska, who buy protected articles and sell their wheat and beef and corn in the open markets of the world. No section of the country offers better opportunities for manufacturing and jobbing than Kansas and Nebraska. In the town where I live there is a jobbing house employing twenty-six travelling men. Fifteen years ago the proprietor was a struggling retail merchant, and his average profits since engaging in jobbing have amounted to twenty thousand dollars a year. Our towns are becoming of age, and our own people are investing in the enterprises to which they so long invited Eastern capital; and when managed carefully and intelligently, such enterprises never fail to yield a large return.

The free lands have nearly all been taken up, but the opportunities in the West are better than they ever were. The taking of free lands has always been a good deal of an experiment. The best time to go to a new country is after the pioneers have demonstrated what the country is good for. Farms on the frontier of Kansas were sold two years ago for almost nothing, although their owners had spent years in profitless experimenting to demonstrate the kind of crop best suited to the country. The man who bought a quarter section two years ago for four hundred dollars certainly did better than his homesteading neighbor who spent five years in acquiring his title. The last census shows that several frontier counties of Kansas lost in population from 1880 to 1890. This fact represents the weary experiment of the settlers, the mistakes of youth. I pretend to say that the man who locates in the West now will have a better prospect of success than he would have had ten years ago. But the best opportunities in the West are in communities twenty to thirty years old. It is not necessary to go beyond wood and water. In one county in Kansas there is not a running stream or a single tree of natural growth.

I believe industry, economy, and good conduct bring better rewards in Western country towns than in any other communities in the world. There is nothing to which a citizen of such a town may not aspire, providing he practises the virtues named. There is a social equality in Western country towns that prevails nowhere else, and the daughters of the blacksmith are quite as prominent as the daughters of the banker, providing they behave as well, which they are likely to do,

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as they all grow up together and are educated in the same schools. The only social test in the West is good conduct. I once lived in a town where it was always said, after a big party, that the line was drawn only at color. The women are more democratic than the men in inviting "the neighbors" when a party is given. Western women always call on their neighbors, and when a man gives a party, the appearance of the husbands of his wife's friends is sometimes startling. Love of society seems to be a natural attribute with a woman, but it is an acquirement with the men. It is dangerous to give a party in a small Western town unless the invitations are general; those not invited will not like it and will find opportunity to "get even."

The social outcasts of the West are the husbands. There is an impression in the virtuous West that when a man gets married he should be content with his wife's society and long for no amusement beyond playing with the children. Young men are petted until they are spoiled, and married women have their afternoon parties; but a married man is only expected to come home promptly at meal-times and carefully wipe his feet, if muddy, on the door-mat. The Western married man has no standing in society except by his wife's side. The men who "run" the towns are seldom seen at the parties which are managed by their unmarried clerks. In the old courtly days a man and wife had a social individuality; but when a man attends a social gathering in the West, he is expected to seat himself beside his wife and behave as well as he can, to the end that people may understand that he is not only fond of the worthy woman at home, but in company as well. If a married man should attend a Western social affair without his wife, he would be very apt to be approached by a married woman, who would ask him in an audible whisper, "Where is your wife?" and there would be a certain something in the woman's tone indicating that he ought to be ashamed of himself for being there under such circumstances. I once knew a gay young husband to exhibit a paper, signed by his wife, to the effect that he was at the party alone with her knowledge and consent.

The men who have made the West and who are interesting have no social side in the strictest sense. Western society is made up of young people, who are always more or less uninteresting except from the standpoint of good looks. A middle-aged man who attends a social affair in the West is looked upon as an oddity, so firmly rooted is the impression that as soon as a man marries he ought to retire from everything except business. Very few Western men possess

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any of the social graces, although they are noted for shrewdness in business and politics. Our idea of society is that it is an institution for bringing about marriages; after the marriages take place the contracting parties are expected to retire. In very good society in the West—I mean gatherings of people that would be creditable anywhere in point of appearance and conduct—you will find girls who work as clerks, and many of them reigning favorites, in opposition to the idle daughters of rich parents. This is the exception, however, rather than the rule.

Dr. Hyde has been vigorously attacked for his article on "Impending Paganism in New England" in the June FORUM by the preachers of the West, who are unanimously of the opinion that he is in need of conversion. The great foes of religion in the West are indifference on the part of the people and intolerance on the part of the preachers. In their private capacities, some of our preachers are disposed to accept the logic of events, but in their pulpits they preach the old doctrines which have brought about the prevailing religious indifference. There are few seceders among the Western preachers; secession seems to come from the East, and religion there no doubt feels the effect of it; but in the West, in order to be religious you must be pious, a word which almost carries a reproach with it.

When I was a boy, I remember, the people discussed religion a good deal, but I have not heard a religious discussion in years. Even the infidels here have ceased talking about the subject. It is a favorite saying in the West, "I long ago quit discussing religion." Thirty or forty years ago preachers were regarded with respect, and they led in most affairs, but now there is something in the air very much resembling contempt for them. I do not say this should be the case; I only express the opinion that it is the case. I think it is due to the intolerance of the preachers themselves. The Western churches are supported by the women, as Dr. Hyde says is the case in New England. Their financial condition is growing worse every year, and concessions are made to the few men who belong to them that are very damaging to the churches. I know one member who gets drunk and attends the festivals, but as he is good about paying he is not turned out.

The women who support the churches in the West are known as *pro-bono-publico* women. I do not believe they are very popular, or that women ever are popular who bother the men for subscriptions, however worthy the cause represented. The activity of women in church

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work is possibly a bad thing; it has a tendency to keep the men away. Give a man an idea that his wife is making an effort to save herself and is leaving him out, and he will invent a new plan of salvation. When a man comes home and finds his wife away doing church work to the neglect of his interests, he finds another argument against religion and forms another prejudice against the Church. If I were a woman I would not go to church without my husband; not from foolish sentiment, but because of a conviction that the best church work demanded such a course. A man is sentimental before he is pious, and his sentimentality is always stronger than his piety.

The Western man is more sentimental than his brother in the East. When he engages in a new enterprise he expects his fellow-citizens to "appreciate" him, and he particularly desires that the newspapers mention him in connection with the words "energetic" and "pushing." When he has "trouble" he expects the neighbors to take notice of it; and after the funeral he is apt to publish a card of thanks. I have never lived in a Western community where the people were not surprisingly good to each other in affliction. Every Western man who has trouble loves his neighbors afterward, if he did not before. The people are equally prompt to relieve the distress of poverty. For many years I have published a newspaper, and every winter I make it a rule to print notices of distress, which the people never fail to relieve. Reporters are always hearing of such cases through the poor-commissioner, and a case of distress mentioned in the evening is pretty sure to be relieved the next day. In the East all such matters are regarded from the cold, matter-of-fact standpoint of an old man, but in the West with the enthusiasm of youth. The typical Eastern man who removes to the West is so exclusive that people imagine he is proud, but he is simply true to the habits of a lifetime. Every Western man who visits in the East is shocked when he cannot find out who lives across the street. When a man builds a house in the West his neighbors give him the benefit of their advice, but in the East I have heard that such matters are left to the architect.

In the West, also, every man takes an interest in the public welfare. If he finds a bunch of Canada thistles he gives notice of the fact to the local newspaper, which suggests that they be cut down. I have never heard, however, of any one turning out to cut these weeds, nor have I ever seen a patch, though I have often heard of the Canada thistle threatening the agricultural interests of the country. Knowledge of these dangerous weeds seems to be confined to those persons

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who are so fortunate as to have lived in the East and who are always telling us how much better things were done where they came from. Although they frequently hear that the Canada thistle is preparing to cover the face of the earth and wipe out corn and wheat, I do not believe Western people know the weed when they see it.

Once when I was travelling through Iowa I stopped at a town where an election was in progress. The manner in which the men yelled and carried banners and badges seemed to me to be the funniest thing I had ever seen. The enthusiasm of the people over a few minor offices seemed to me to be the enthusiasm of crazy people, and I watched the proceedings with a great deal of interest until I suddenly remembered that we did exactly the same thing at home. When a friend of ours runs for office we all turn out to help him, and there is a very ridiculous time until the contest is decided. While the campaign is in progress we all say it is high time really good men were called to office, and that the best citizens should turn out to support such a candidate; but after the election is over we privately confess that the good man elected is a disappointment, for no office-holder can possibly carry out the reforms his friends promise. It is a favorite theory in the West that the best citizens neglect the primaries. Perhaps they do as a rule, but I have noticed that when the best citizens of the first ward turn out because of the unfitness of a candidate, the best citizens of the second ward decide in favor of the man opposed in the first. The best citizens seem to make quite as many mistakes in politics as the other class. My own opinion is that it is impossible to avoid mistakes if you engage in politics.

A certain thoroughfare leading to the town in which I live is known as the "Doniphan Road," and for fifteen years I have heard that it is in such bad condition that trade is driven to rival towns. In my capacity as editor I think I have referred to the condition of the Doniphan Road as a burning shame at least a thousand times, always at the request of indignant citizens and never caring much about the matter myself. At last a number of men raised a considerable amount of money by private subscription and went to work to improve the Doniphan Road. There was a good deal of rejoicing because the road was to be improved and the trade of the town thereby increased; and the men who were doing the work went about with such an injured air, because they were not appreciated, that finally some resolutions were passed and printed. Three or four months after the work had been completed, a man called at my office and filed complaint against

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the condition of the Doniphan Road! I was very much surprised, and called his attention to the fact that the road had lately been fixed. "Fixed!" he said scornfully. "The road was all right until some crazy men from town came out and ruined it!"

This incident illustrates one of the great weaknesses of the West. Except by bridging, Western roads have never been improved a particle. Every citizen is supposed to pay a road tax every year or work two days. In the country the tax is always paid in work; and all the farmers do is to scour their ploughs along the roads and arrange for the election of a road-overseer who is not so particular. If a little ploughing and scraping is done according to a plan, it is washed out by the next rain. In bad weather our roads are simply disgraceful, but they are no more disgraceful than the system by which we attempt to improve them. Every Western man is ashamed of the country roads, but the trouble is he is ashamed without taking intelligent steps to improve them.

We of the West have been clamoring for liberty so long that at last we have too much of it; it is one of our most serious faults that we have confounded political liberty with social license. Our young people are allowed dangerous liberties in their intercourse with one another if the motive is believed to be marriage. Engagements are lightly entered into, and an engagement is accepted as a pretext for liberties that may be dangerous and never fail to be damaging. It is the rule in the West for a young man to call on his affianced in the evening, and remain alone with her as long as he can make himself agreeable; very often he remains until long after midnight. The members of the girl's family regard it as a politeness to leave the pair to themselves; and not only the family, but the community, grants a certain license to engaged persons that would be shocking under other circumstances. This license is so generally recognized that once, when I was visiting in a very good family in Omaha, the oldest daughter appeared at the breakfast-table and told as a funny incident that while sitting on her lover's knee the night before, one of the female servants entered the parlor unexpectedly and caught her at it. The incident caused hearty laughter, though I remember that the girl's father was not present. The engagement was finally broken off. Not long ago a society young man called on a young woman in my neighborhood, and when the mother entered the parlor the young man intimated that her presence there was an impertinence.

All this is excused on the favorite American theory that we are

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free and able to take care of ourselves. We do not believe that young men can take care of themselves in the presence of temptation and persuasion, but we seem to believe that young women can; therefore our parlors are too often loafing-places for men who use all their arts against the best interests of women and society. We have forgotten that nine-tenths of the unfortunate women of this country have been ruined by men to whom they were engaged to be married, and that a series of engagements under our system inevitably trains a woman downward. In no community in this country is a woman who has been engaged three or four times as highly esteemed as one who has had no such experience. This alone is a sufficient reason why the custom is a bad one; and if we may judge from the kissing jokes in the newspapers, the custom of too much license between engaged persons is not confined to the West. It seems to be an American privilege.

Every engagement of marriage that comes to nothing is a libel on the sacred name of love: it makes every one of us think less of that which lies in our hearts next to hope. An old love affair that comes to nothing injures humanity as a backslider injures the Church. The French carry their system too far one way; we carry ours too far the other. In nearly every newspaper or magazine article written by a woman you will find a sly thrust at the folly I am pointing out. George Eliot pointed it out as a great danger, in the statement that the happiest women are those who have no history. George Eliot meant what I mean: that every woman who has had a lover other than her husband has a history that will cause her trouble. Every mature woman knows that this is true; even a girl says less of her second engagement than of her first. Nature tells her that there is something wrong about it. The proportion of marriages in the West is gradually growing smaller. The notion that there is a scarcity of marriageable women in the West is a mistake. I live five hundred miles west of Chicago, and in my town there are certainly five women willing to marry to one man willing to marry. What is the matter? My opinion is that the men refuse to forgive the follies society says they must forgive. Their own experience has disgusted them with our system of marriages. The men are to blame, of course, but men would willingly be to blame for very much more than they are.

E. W. Howe.

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THE SCANDINAVIANS IN THE NORTHWEST.

EVERY class of immigrants must be judged by its manifest ability to become American speedily, willingly, and thoroughly, in all that that term implies. The more generations there are of ignorance, superstition, thriftlessness, and political passivity stretching out behind him, the more undesirable from every point of view the immigrant becomes. On the other hand, the immigrant whose homeland shows a minimum percentage of illiteracy, whose life has been saturated with ideas of thrift and small economies, who holds himself the slave of neither priest, landlord, nor king, and whose history, past and passing, is a story of sturdy struggling for independence—such an immigrant should find welcome and encouragement instead of barriers to his coming.

While agitating for much-needed additional restriction upon undesirable immigration, we should not forget the obligation we owe the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who in the last forty years have surged across our land, settled in the great West, and brought prosperity to themselves and the state. But not this alone. They are no longer pilgrims and strangers. They are not simply in the better country: they are of it and of its people. It is to the immigrants of this class, and especially to the Scandinavian immigrants from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, that the Northwest is largely indebted for its marvellous development.

While in most of the Eastern States a Norwegian or a Swede is a curiosity, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas have about seven hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants of Scandinavian birth. To this should be added those of the second generation, enumerated as native born, which should raise their numbers nearly to a million. The story of the coming of this great host of peaceful conquerors of prairie and forest, by the side of which the early Teutonic migrations were but small marauding picnics, is an uneventful, but not an unimportant chapter in our history. The first company of Scandinavian immigrants reached New York from Norway in 1825, and made a settlement near Rochester, N. Y. A few hundreds

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came in the next ten years; but not until 1836 was the first permanent Western settlement made in Illinois. Later, settlements were made in Wisconsin and Iowa; Swedes and Danes, as well as Norwegians, began to come; and by 1843 the stream was flowing with some regularity. The census of 1850 showed eighteen thousand Scandinavian population. But these were only the vanguard of the host that was to follow. In 1860 there were seventy-two thousand. During the Civil War very few came; but in the later sixties the movement began again with redoubled vigor, and finally reached its climax in 1882, when one hundred and five thousand three hundred and twenty-six Scandinavians were landed at our ports. In the five years ending with 1885, three hundred and fifty-two thousand three hundred and thirty-four arrived; in the next five years, three hundred and four thousand one hundred and sixty.

With a few minor exceptions, the whole movement has been unorganized, though agents of steamship and railway companies, and even some of the States, have systematically worked up immigration sentiment in the Northlands. Famine, burdensome taxation, and overpopulation have been not inconsiderable factors in promoting Scandinavian immigration; religious and political persecution and military service have driven out only a very small fraction. The natural love of adventure, the prospect of ownership of land, which is practically impossible to the great majority in the old home, and the desire for greater personal independence—in a word, material betterment—these have been the motives of Scandinavian immigration. Letters from the New World, winter visits of prosperous immigrants to their old friends, and innumerable low-priced prepaid passage tickets have been the most powerful preachers of the gospel of the New World's advantages. The broad, rich prairies of the Northwest have had from the first an Eden-like attractiveness to these North folk, coming as they have from a land where mountains, marshes, thin soil, and short summers made life a continual struggle for existence. It was the vision of level fields of marvellous fertility that could be had almost for the asking that cheered their tedious way across the Atlantic, up the Erie Canal, and around the Great Lakes in the early days. Minnesota, Iowa, Dakota, are still the watchwords as they come and are household words in almost every cranny from Hammerfest to Gjedser.

The passion for the possession of land and for the independence that goes with it have characterized the Scandinavians from the earliest

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times, and it is that which has made them so valuable as citizens of the Northwest. Had they preferred to huddle together in villages or, still worse, to crowd into the large cities, the progress of this section would have been materially slower. Until within the last eight years the towns have claimed only a small percentage, and now probably not more than ten per cent come to settle in towns. Scanty means, a spirit of economy, and a fearlessness for hard work and temporary privation have made them frequently pioneers in settling new territory. With the extension of new railroads into northwestern Minnesota and the Dakotas and the opening up of Government and railroad land, great numbers of Scandinavian immigrants and Scandinavian settlers from older portions of the West have settled there. All of the eighty counties of Minnesota, save possibly two, have representatives of all three Scandinavian peoples; whole townships and almost whole counties are tilled by them. In the newer counties of Minnesota and the Dakotas thirty and even forty per cent are of Scandinavian parentage. In the older portions it is said to be possible to travel three hundred miles across Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota without once leaving Scandinavian-owned land. Though in every large city and town in the Northwest there are Scandinavians engaged in commercial enterprises and the professions with marked success, it yet remains true that the great majority are farmers.

One of the most important indirect results of the love for land-ownership is the hastening of naturalization. To take up homestead claims, one of the first conditions for a foreigner is "a declaration of intention" to become a citizen; so the prospective farmer at once takes out his "first papers," and the first step in naturalization is made. This done, natural inclination leads him to perfect his title to full citizenship. But the Scandinavian immigrant hardly needs any great material incentive to citizenship. In politics he is as much in his element as an Irishman in New York City. His aptitude for politics and his interest in public affairs are natural. Be he Norwegian, Swede, or Dane, he has lived and moved in an atmosphere electric with independence and individualism. The Norwegian celebrates the Fourth of July all the more loyally, because on the seventeenth of May he commemorated in the same way the establishment, in defiance of all Europe, of the Norwegian constitution in 1814. The Dane is fresh from the constitutional struggle begun in 1849; the Swede has had popular representation since 1867: consequently the Scandinavian immigrants have had some considerable political educa-

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tion when they arrive. The ballot and independence are not meaningless terms to them; the exercise of them is their right, not merely their privilege. Certainly no class makes greater effort than the Scandinavian to become naturalized; none enters upon the rights and duties of American citizenship with more enthusiasm or honest, intelligent appreciation of its high privileges. Statistics from Minnesota show some interesting facts bearing upon this question, comparison being made with the Germans, who rank among our best immigrants. By the census of 1885 the Scandinavian population was 43.2 per cent and the German 30.1 per cent of the total foreign-born population. Of the increase of foreign-born population for five years ending with 1885, the Scandinavian was 48.2 per cent, the German 30.9 per cent. For the same period, of the total naturalizations (first papers) the Scandinavians took out 56.3 per cent and the Germans 23.2 per cent. Or, looking at the matter in another way, for the same half-decade the Scandinavians who were naturalized were 35.4 per cent of the increase of Scandinavian population for the same time, the Germans 22.9 per cent. Similar statistics for other half-decades give approximately the same results.

The political affiliations of the Scandinavian voters till about 1886 were almost invariably with the Republican party. The opposition to slavery rallied every son of the Northland, and no soldiers were braver or more patriotic than the Scandinavian Fifteenth Wisconsin regiment and Scandinavian companies in other Wisconsin and Iowa regiments. The suppression of the Rebellion, the abolition of slavery, the passage of the homestead law to which they owed so much—all appealed powerfully to their political senses. New-comers found their predecessors in the Republican party; they found it the party in power in the State and generally in the Nation; its principles were acceptable, and so they too became Republicans. Since 1886, however, less reliance can be placed upon a solid Scandinavian vote, though this element has never been the ready tool of "bosses." It has ever been a ruling rather than a ruled element. The immigration of the last eight years has had a larger percentage from the cities, and a larger percentage has settled in the cities, so that "labor questions" have affected them; local political issues have, to their credit, sometimes shaken their old allegiance more or less, as, for example, prohibition in Iowa and North Dakota, high license in Minnesota; the Bennett law in Wisconsin temporarily drove them out of the Republican party; the Farmers' Alliance, People's party, etc., have drawn

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Scandinavian recruits from both of the old parties; the tariff and other National questions have divided them as well as other thinking men in both great political parties. However, the majority of them are still and will continue to be Republicans, though no party can mortgage their vote for any election.

Each of the great parties in Minnesota and the Dakotas usually "recognizes" the value of the Scandinavian vote by placing one or two candidates of Scandinavian birth upon its State ticket, though the vote for such candidates does not differ much from the vote for the rest of the ticket. In Minnesota the present secretary of state (a Republican and recently nominated) and the auditor (a Democrat and Alliance candidate) are Norwegians, while the preceding secretary was a Swede, serving for a third term. In the same State the last three legislatures had respectively twenty-six, twenty-one, and twenty-six Scandinavian members out of one hundred and sixty-eight; of the elective county officers throughout the State other than county commissioners, more than one hundred and fifty are of Scandinavian parentage. It is not as Scandinavians laboring for any class or nationality, but as American citizens, that these men are elected, and their administration is no less honest, no less efficient, than that of native-born citizens. Several have served in diplomatic missions and in Congress; in the past Congress there were four Scandinavian members. The highly honorable careers of such men, among others, as the Hon. Hans Mattson, colonel of the Third Minnesota, editor, consul-general to India, and three times secretary of state in Minnesota; the Hon. R. B. Anderwon, a writer of some note and Mr. Cleveland's minister to Denmark; the Hon. Knute Nelson, soldier, attorney, member of the legislatures of Wisconsin and Minnesota, member of Congress from 1883 to 1889, being seated the third time by the largest majority of any member of that House, and recently nominated by acclamation by the Republicans for governor of Minnesota—all would do credit to any men. Who asks if John Ericsson was born in Sweden or H. H. Boyesen in Norway? These men are none the less American because born in Norway or Sweden or of Scandinavian parentage.

Society has little to fear from Scandinavian immigrants; certainly not from illiteracy, for Norway, Sweden, and Denmark are among the five states of Europe "nearly free from illiteracy." By the most conservative estimate, the percentage of illiteracy in Russia is eighty, in Hungary fifty, in Italy forty-eight, while "among the Swedish recruits of 1888 only one per cent were unlettered." In addition to this uni-

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versally fair education, many of the immigrants are highly educated. Because of the similarity of structure of the English and Scandinavian languages and an aptitude for acquiring languages, they readily learn English. The use of newspapers and books, both in their tongues and in English, is large; in Minnesota alone thirty-seven Scandinavian newspapers are published.

Coupled with the love for politics among them is the love for religion and the Church. The vast majority are Lutherans of one branch or another. At any rate, they are Protestant enough to satisfy the most fastidious Catholic-hater, for a Catholic in Norway or Sweden is a rare, suspicious object. The dissenting movement among the Scandinavian Lutherans in America is comparatively strong. At one time there were six divisions of the Norwegians alone, though recently three of them united. The rigid adherence to the forms and practices of the mother-state Church is weakened, while, on the other hand, the liberal and atheistic movements have made slow progress, even among the dissenters. The churches, with a few exceptions, have not maintained regular elementary schools. Poverty, isolation of the families of the great farming class, and the desire to conform to American customs have all led to a very general patronage of the common schools. The church school is usually open during public-school vacations, if at all, and instruction confined to religious teaching and the use of the mother-tongue. All this has contributed to the rapid Americanization of the second generation. For higher education, the church maintains numerous and well-patronized seminaries and colleges, while the high-schools and the State universities throughout the Northwest have a large Scandinavian attendance, auguring well for the future. In the University of Minnesota, for example, located in the same city with two Scandinavian colleges, during the past year one hundred and seventy-five students, out of thirteen hundred and seventy-four, were of Scandinavian parentage.

The statistics for crime, pauperism, etc., show a percentage for the Scandinavian below the average of foreign population, while for insanity the percentage is higher. Minnesota, again, will serve as a fair example. In 1885 the Scandinavians were 16.5 per cent of the population, the Germans 11.5 per cent. In 1886, of those confined in prisons 8.7 per cent were Scandinavians, 7.4 per cent Germans. In 1890 7.1 per cent were Scandinavians, though the Scandinavian population had increased nearly twice as fast as the native. For insanity the figures are quite the reverse. The completely changed aspect of nature,

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the isolation of the farmers, and the severity of the struggle for all at the first, together with the ordinary causes, produce an unusually large number of cases of insanity. In 1886, of the inmates of the insane hospitals 28.3 per cent were Scandinavians; in 1890, 30.7 per cent. Statistics for illegitimacy are not easily obtainable or reliable, but an inspection of the crimes for which criminals in the State prisons have been sentenced suggests the conclusion that so large an immigration from a country showing annually ten per cent of illegitimate births, as in the case of Sweden (for the city of Stockholm for 1884 it was twenty-nine per cent), must have some effect in lowering the standard of morals in the community.

The Scandinavians, with all their virtues, are not without faults. They are often narrow-minded, in the city sometimes clannish and given to making demands, political and social, as Scandinavian-Americans. The Swede is frequently jealous of the Norwegian, and *vice versa*. But as a class they are sober, earnest, industrious, and frugal. They are not driven here; they come of their own accord and come to stay, not to get a few hundred dollars and return to a life of idleness. They come not to destroy our institutions, but to build them up by adopting them. They come from countries not potent or glorious in European affairs, and therefore the more readily denationalize themselves, that they may become entirely American. The most of them are plain, common people, strong, sturdy, and independent, required to unlearn little, ready and able to learn much and learn it well. They have the same still powers of adaptability and assimilation that made Rollo and his Northmen such good Frenchmen and Guthrun and his Danes such excellent Englishmen; and using these powers among us to-day, they are, or are rapidly becoming, irreproachably and unimpeachably American.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

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THE MINE LABORERS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

At the present time the public prints are filled with statistics of immigration and of the area of unsettled lands and with discussions of the laws relating thereto. The Government printing-presses are furnishing the results of work performed by agents who were sent abroad to inquire into the condition at home of the prospective emigrant. All these articles are interesting and important; but the public demands better and more detailed information. The American people have a right to know what are the results upon the communities wherein large numbers of Southern Europeans settle: how they live, the wages they earn, the money they spend, their proportion of crime, their superstitions, and the prospect of having them assimilated among the native population.

It is taken for granted that the public accepts one fact in advance: that east of the Mississippi we have to fear, at present, immigration only from Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Sicily. But the laws of immigration are fixed. The transfer of population from the Old World to the New moves from west to east. Our first immigrants naturally came from countries bordering the Atlantic coast; but if proper laws are not administered, there is no possible doubt that in the future hordes of immigrants from India will enter our ports. Religious beliefs do much to hold back these people now, but little is needed to break this check. In fact, while in 1890 we received 4,448 immigrants from Asia, in 1891 this number rose to 7,678.

Already the stream of immigration from Southern Europe is sweeping toward the Northwest and the South; but it began to pour into the mining regions of Pennsylvania over a dozen years ago. It is a matter of great importance, therefore, that the Nation know how this stream has become a deluge in one decade, and what are its results even in so short a time. One who desires to study the vital phase of the immigration problem should go to the anthracite fields of the Keystone State. There he will find one of the richest regions of the earth overrun with a horde of Hungarians, Slavs, Polanders, Bohemians, Arabs, Italians, Sicilians, Russians, and Tyrolese of the

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lowest class; a section almost denationalized by the scum of the Continent, where women hesitate to drive about the country roads by day, where unarmed men are not safe after the sinking of the sun. There he will see prosperous little cities like Hazleton, Mahanoy, Ashland, Shenandoah, with fine business houses and educated people of fortune, and surrounding these towns great wastes of the Commonwealth diseased by thousands and tens of thousands of foreigners who have no desire to become Americans, who emigrate to the United States for a few years to make money, who have driven to the cities and to the West the great army of English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Germans, and Americans who once gave stability to the coal regions; in short, a condition of affairs which, if equalled elsewhere, may become more than a National problem—a National peril.

Though the Federal Government has done good work in sending special consular agents abroad to gather statistics, and also in making a cursory investigation in certain American cities, a letter from the Commissioner of Labor, in January, 1892, said that up to that date no examination had been made in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania, and to those regions the swarms first were brought. In Luzerne, Schuylkill, Carbon, Lehigh, and Northumberland counties they are working out their destiny, and incidentally are building there a section of Southern Europe. Until the year 1875 the mines of Pennsylvania were worked almost exclusively by Americans, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Germans, and English. But shortly after the date mentioned were heard ominous rumblings of a great labor trouble, and finally it came. The operators had been in the habit of treating their miners just as they chose. The men were compelled to purchase food, clothing, in fact nearly all the necessaries and luxuries of life, at company stores, paying excessive prices. The paymaster retained from each man's wages seventy-five cents per month for the company doctor, no matter whether the miner's family were ill or in good health. In most cases twenty-five cents were taken in the same way for the company priest. The rent of the company house wherein the miner lived was likewise deducted, and after reserving more for coal and oil and powder, the paymaster handed the miner whatever money —if any—were remaining. Sometimes the men were paid every month; sometimes thrice a year. Those were the days when a miner could make as much as one hundred dollars per month. But wages were cut; one screw after another was tightened; and suddenly the operators awoke to find themselves confronted with a great strike.

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Then did one of the greatest capitalists declare that never again would he have a strike. Agents were sent to Southern Europe, and they brought back hundreds of Hungarians, Polanders, Slavs, and Bohemians, who had been receiving from ten cents to sixty cents per day for their work. It must not be supposed that all the "coal barons" were cruel, cold-blooded taskmasters. But those were who brought here the Hun and the Slav. The Irish and Welsh and Scotch were beginning to assert themselves. The operators knew but a short time remained when compulsion in connection with the company store and the company doctor would be a thing of the past. They realized that before long they would have to treat the miners as workmen elsewhere were treated. But the Slav and the Polander—ah, here were desirable people. They had been ground down and crushed for generations. They could be handled like so many domestic cattle. They were strong as oxen, lived on almost nothing, would work for a bare pittance. So they were brought to the mines.

Since the stream was turned on in full a decade has elapsed. Of those who came here during the first few years many possessed ordinary intelligence. But year by year the immigrants have been decreasing steadily in the scale of humanity, especially those from Italy. It is true that there are exceptions: mechanics, physicians even, are found who have emigrated from Austria-Hungary, Poland, Sicily, or Italy. But these exceptions only prove the tremendously overweighing rule. In 1891 more than half a million immigrants landed in the United States. Of those, Italy and Sicily sent over one hundred thousand; Bohemia, Austria-Hungary, Poland, and Russia over one hundred and ten thousand. It is safe to say that fully one-half of these two hundred and ten thousand are the very worst class of immigrants, utterly unfit for residence or citizenship in the United States.

There are two great causes that sent from Europe to this country in 1891 these half-million souls. One is compulsory military service; the other, greed for gold. The majority of Hungarians, Slavs, Italians, and Polanders who come here leave wives and families behind them. They settle down to work in the mining regions for wages running from sixty cents to one dollar and ten cents per day. During some of the months the mines are idle half-time or more, and of course for the time being the wages cease. In the anthracite regions ten, twenty, thirty of the men club together and establish a sort of cooperative housekeeping. The man who rents the company house

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is called the "boarding-boss," and his wife (if he have one) or some other woman cooks and washes for "the gang." The Hungarians and Slavs consume good bread, poor salt pork, great quantities of coffee, and a soup in which there are noodles. They seldom eat fried food and roasts never. The Italian's bill of fare consists of bread, beer, bologna, sometimes green peppers or cabbage or maccaroni, and Roman cheese made from the milk of goats and sheep. The Italians delight in other vegetables than those named, and consume much olive oil and Italian wines. In some cases the boarding-boss purchases the food; in others, one of the boarders is empowered to do so. At the end of the month the store bill is presented and the men pay in equal proportions. If the Slav or the Italian finds his share to be more than five dollars there is likely to be a disturbance. Besides the store bill, the boarders each pay from one to two dollars per month to the boarding-boss for house-rent. It is safe to say that the Slavs and Italians live on twenty to twenty-five cents per day. They purchase little clothing, and the principal luxury indulged in is either beer in kegs or a miserable white whiskey termed *polenka*.

As may be imagined, at such an expense these people do not live in palatial magnificence. They are huddled together in small rooms containing rude wooden bunks, ideal breeding-places for loathsome disease. Chief Polgrean, of the Hazleton police, recently had occasion to raid an Italian boarding-house on the outskirts of that city. The building was large enough to accommodate an American family of six or eight. The police found in it fifty Italians massed together, occupying the attic and the ground-floor. In the cellar were twenty others lying naked in the straw, sleeping head to feet like so many hogs. The company houses are often decent buildings, though extremely plain, and rent for from four to six dollars per month; but frequently the foreigners will not pay that amount. So they gather a few boards and erect a rickety, miserable shanty unfit for a well-bred dog to live in. Usually there is no ventilation; the earth may serve for a floor; drainage facilities would constitute a curiosity. Such are the houses wherein thousands of people are content to reside as long as they remain in America.

If a man makes twenty-five or thirty dollars a month and expends but eight or ten dollars, he naturally would deposit the surplus in a bank. Not so with the vast majority of these foreigners. There are some who bring their families here, intending to remain; but they are few. It would be safe to estimate that a large percentage of the

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immigrants who have come from Southern Europe since 1884 had no idea of making this country their place of permanent residence. They came here as New Englanders went to California in '49, to make a fortune in a few years and then go home to enjoy it. They leave their families abroad and send to them sums of money that seem enormous when the fact is considered that they belong to the laboring class. The little city of Hazleton is said to send each month to Southern Europe from seventy-five thousand to one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. Such immigrants, as a rule, make no attempt to become Americans. They care naught for our country but as a place where they can accumulate enough money to make them independent when they return home.

Of course these people, as a rule, do not try to learn the English language. There is no necessity for it. Many thousands of them live together; they have local newspapers printed in their own tongue; their priests conduct religious services in it; they enjoy their own entertainments. This is one reason why mine superintendents keep all accounts by number instead of by name. When employed each man is given a brass check with a figure stamped upon it, and thereafter he is known as "596" or "211" instead of by his real name—Stanislaus Androschowski, for instance.

One deplorable circumstance is that except in rare instances the Slavs and Italians never send their children to the public schools. The boys are early set to work among their own people, and the girls can seldom make acquaintance with those of other nationalities. This clannish habit prohibits the acquisition of the English language and prevents the fostering of American patriotism in the coming generation. But it cannot be helped. Americans will have nothing to do in common with the low-class foreigners. In fact, so excessively repulsive are the latter that decent people hesitate about waiting in railroad stations near mining towns, for fear of being overrun with vermin or of contracting disease.

When a stranger visits the anthracite regions he is filled with sympathy for the poor Italian and the Slav. He considers the American residents heartless in the extreme. He is amazed at the way the foreigners are regarded. But a single year spent in that land will show him the truth, no matter how tender-hearted he is. He will then know that disgust should take the place of surprise. He sees a thousand idle Americans and a like number of foreigners slaving for eighty or ninety cents per day. He sees the Americans sending

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their children to school, supporting churches, living in decent houses, trying to be cleanly and to wear presentable clothing. He also sees the scum of Europe taking the place of the former, content to swarm in shanties like hogs, to contract scurvy by a steady diet of the cheapest salt pork, to suffer sore eyes and bodies rather than buy a towel and a wash-tub, to endure typhoid fever rather than undergo the expense of the most primitive sanitary apparatus. He hears day after day earnest but unschooled Americans, Irishmen, Welshmen, discuss the immigration question, and either curse Congress or pray that it may realize what will happen to the Nation if these swarms are allowed to fester and breed misery in the land.

It may be argued that the Americans, Irish, Germans, Welsh, and English would not do the work that is performed by the immigrant from Southern Europe. Certainly the former would not accept six or seven dollars per week if it could be avoided. But bear in mind that a few years ago miners could and did earn as high wages as twenty-five dollars per week. One result of this great reduction in wages is the enormously increased output of anthracite, which is made cheaper to the consumer and thus reduces the price of certain manufactured goods. That, of course, is a good feature.

If the immigrants with whom we are dealing saved money to buy homes here and became good citizens, we might be able to excuse their present squalor. If they desired to learn our language and customs, to become law-abiding, there might be some excuse for allowing them to enter our ports. But we know that such is not the case with the great majority. There are many intelligent men in the anthracite regions who are disposed to allow matters to drift on, content in the belief that the very freedom of American institutions will somehow civilize the foreigners. Even if this pleasant view proves to be no mirage, it is dangerous to allow entrance to such armies as we receive month after month. Mr. Beecher was right when he dreaded the oncoming of this questionable food from abroad which this country is swallowing and unsuccessfully attempting to assimilate. Statisticians tell us that there is incalculable room in the United States for prospective immigrants. To my mind, that is the great trouble; our country is too sparsely settled to allow hosts of ignorant foreigners to enter unrestricted. If the American residents of the anthracite fields, for example, could swallow the vast numbers now entering, the latter would necessarily become Americanized. But the reverse is true; they drive out the former residents and Europeanize the country.

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Take the superstitions of the foreigners, for example. One would suppose that ten years' residence in a community five hours distant from New York City would remove belief in witches from a majority of the people. But so great are their numbers that this has proved impossible. Nearly all of them believe in "signs" and ghosts, and the superstitions cannot be shaken. But with all their superstitions, the foreigners have little reverence or even respect for things sacred. They are fond of attending church services; but once outside the walls the priest has little influence over them. I once stood at the altar of a Polish church by the side of uniformed police to protect the priest, Rev. Father Maszotas, who had been assaulted in the church and who feared further violence from some of the nine hundred of his fellow-countrymen who crowded the building to the vestibule. During the autumn of 1891, Rt. Rev. William O'Hara, Bishop of Scranton, sent a Sicilian priest, Father Rosario Nasca, to Hazleton to take charge of a mission. Six months later Father Nasca called upon me and said that he had been threatened with assassination by some of his parishioners and that he never went out of the house after dark unless accompanied by a body-guard.

It is but natural to suppose from these immigrants' manner of living that their code of morals is low. The police will tell you that the Slav, Bohemian, Italian, and the baser Polanders are guilty of nameless crimes and horrid vices. If you desire to see a collection of curious weapons, go to police headquarters in any anthracite town. Part of the first money a Hungarian or a Slav earns in America is expended in purchasing a revolver. The Italians carry knives and stilettos. If too poor to indulge in such articles, the immigrant carries in his pocket a stone weighing from three to five pounds. Numbers of them are taken by the police from prisoners. If an Italian cannot afford a stiletto he buys, begs, or steals a file and grinds it down to the proper proportions.

What would residents of a Massachusetts town think of such an occurrence as is described in the following article from the "Pottsville Chronicle" of April 13, 1892? The affair was forgotten in twenty-four hours:

"All last Sunday the residents of Heckschersville Valley were in an excited state of mind caused by a free-for-all fight among forty or fifty Hungarians who have recently settled in the 'Ireland of America' and who got into a quarrel over several kegs of bock beer. Clubs, knives, stones, pick handles, and 'billies' were freely used, knock-downs were numerous, and cut heads were countless.

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They fought like demons, and the valley resounded with their shrieks and fearful oaths. The peaceful citizens of the valley stood in groups on the hillside and watched the terrible fight. . . . Soon the women joined and the fight went on. In some cases three would pounce upon one, in others half a dozen would belabor two of them until they weren't able to move, and immediately leave them to join in the fight at another point. Of course the outcome of the affray was a lawsuit."

As may be readily supposed, the people in the anthracite regions have to possess an especial means of protection against the lawless foreigners. In well-governed cities like Hazleton, Mahanoy, Shenandoah, and Ashland, there is no such necessity; but within a few miles of each of the large towns are a dozen mining camps wherein the danger is realized. So the coal-operators support forces of hard-riding, swift-striking, well-loved, and better hated "coal and iron" police. Those in the Hazleton region have headquarters in that city and are under the control of Chief Hampton. Each man goes fully armed day and night, and each is provided with a fast horse. On account of the danger of their calling, these men are paid large salaries, and not one of them have I found who does not possess unusual intelligence and extraordinary knowledge of character. There may be exceptions, but those with whom I am acquainted are men absolutely fearless, of instant decision and splendid physical development. Nearly all have acquired sufficient knowledge of Italian, Slav, Polish, and Bohemian to be able to converse with the foreigners; and their rule is, when making an arrest, never to give up the struggle until knocked senseless or completely overpowered. If such a thing happens, a detail of re-enforcements is ordered to the ground, and then begins a search for the criminals that is supposed to be utterly relentless, no matter if months or years are consumed.

But even with this splendid safeguard justice is a farce. The foreigners either have no idea of the responsibility forced upon them by the judicial oath or they care not for perjury. The criminal dockets are so overcrowded that in at least one county the courts have directed justices of the peace to allow settlements of all cases possible, for which they hold preliminary hearings. But it is not right hastily to condemn either the courts or the magistrates for this proceeding. A magistrate in a mining town has a hard road to travel. In a large proportion of cases he hears where foreigners are involved an interpreter is required. Frequently the questions and answers are misconstrued through the change of meaning conveyed while trans-

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lating idiom or phrase from one language to the other. Then the interpreter sometimes fancies he is doing the justice of the peace a favor by helping to convict the defendant, or *vice versa*. It is generally believed, also, that an interpreter who is often called upon will take sides with the person who pays him the most. Frequently two interpreters are required. One translates from Engl sh into Italian, for example, and the second from the pure Italian into that special dialect which the witness understands.

When pay-day comes the police and the justices of the peace get ready for a rush of work. The night following a pay-day, or in fact almost any Saturday night, the foreigners indulge in a drunken orgie which is kept up throughout Sunday. It is a queer sight, that of a rickety Slav boarding-house on such a night. Early in the evening a dozen of the boarders will begin to drink *polenka*, a bucket of which may be placed in the middle of the floor. They continue to tell stories, smoke, and chat until the fumes of the miserable liquor go to their heads. Then half a dozen or more will form a circle about the bucket of *polenka*, while another, seated in a corner, plays a weird, monotonous air upon an accordion or some reed instrument. As he plays the Slavs begin to dance and sing, solemnly at first, holding one foot off the floor and hopping around on the other, clapping their hands, and swinging their heads from side to side. By the time they get intoxicated a quarrel may ensue, ending in bloodshed, perhaps in homicide. The feasts following marriages and christenings are usually productive of fights.

When a score of Italians congregate with a few kegs of beer upon Saturday night, a fight is to be expected. But suppose arrests follow? It is most difficult to convict the criminal. A few years ago an Italian murderer was arrested in Schuylkill County. Proof against him was positive, and he would have been sent to prison for life had not the Italian authorities at Washington intervened in his behalf. An *attaché* was sent to the coal regions, who promised the authorities that if they would give up the man he would be taken out of the country. For all I know, this was done; and yet in November, 1891, Captain Simpson was sure he saw the fellow hanging about not far from the scene of the crime. It may be added that the Italian government more than any other takes active interest in such cases; but, for reasons set forth, few of the foreigners who commit crime receive their just deserts. Take murderers, for instance: except where arrests and trial follow, it would be exceedingly difficult to procure a list of such

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occurrences. Dr. J. W. Cole, of Hazleton, says he has testified as an expert in seventeen murder cases, and in not one of them was the criminal convicted. The most amazing feature of all this is that the American residents of such communities think nothing of crime which would create weeks of excitement in places where these foreigners do not live. The people of the coal regions expect fights and murders.

After studying these immigrants and their relation to crime for some little time, I was surprised to find that when arrested for larceny, drunken brawls, stabbing affrays, or other minor offences, the Slavs, Polanders, Arabs, and Russians often served terms in the local jail, being unable to pay the fine imposed; but that in ninety per cent of the cases where Italians were thus arrested the fines were paid and imprisonment avoided. The Italians, as a rule, earned less wages than workingmen of any other nationality. The thought occurred, Can there exist in America a society of Italians whose object is to help the members when in trouble with the police? Under promise of secrecy I obtained from an Italian priest (who does not reside in or near Hazleton) an emphatic opinion that such a society existed, and that it had ramifications in different parts of the United States where Italians colonize. The priest said also that the leader of the Pennsylvania branch was a man who has served nineteen years in the galleys for murder. He told where this man lived, but only on condition that the information should be withheld from the public.[1]

I had been studying these people so intently and had received such an unfavorable impression of them that I hesitated to proceed in the investigation, lest injustice might be done. So I wrote to Mr. A. E. Watrous, of the "New York Herald" staff, stating the case and asking him to come to Hazleton and make a thorough examination of the matter throughout the surrounding country. Mr. Watrous is a man of mature years and of experience. He came to Hazleton, and while the existence of such a society could not be absolutely proved during the limited time he could spare for the work, he yet unearthed facts that would lead one to believe that such an organization was active. His report was voluminous, and a few facts from it will serve the present purpose.

In the first place, he found that some of the "coal and iron" police firmly believed in that society, while others were non-committal, declining to have their views expressed in print. Mayor Gavitt, of

[1] It is only proper to add that this priest's reputation for truthfulness is doubted by many who have come in contact with him.

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Hazleton, has had experience with criminals as chief of police and as head of the municipal government. His docket for six months, ending in November, 1891, shows scores of cases where Italians were arrested, and in each case the fine was paid. A curious circumstance is that one or two men paid the great majority of fines. "When an Italian is arrested," says Mayor Gavitt, "we almost always find half a dozen of his countrymen at the police courts, and one of them invariably pays the fine, no matter whether it is five dollars or twenty. I should not think such a society as you mention at all improbable." The man who hears more police cases than any other in that section of the country is James P. Gorman, city clerk of Hazleton and a justice of the peace. From experience in hundreds of criminal cases where Italians have been involved, Mr. Gorman considers the existence of such a society not merely possible, but highly probable. As for Captain Simpson of the "coal and iron" police, he does not doubt its existence at all. Most of the justices of the peace, the "coal and iron" police, the constables, and the city police bear witness to one serious fact: if an Italian wishes to prove an *alibi* he has merely to express such a desire, and he can have a dozen men to swear to that effect. This is true, in some degree, of other nationalities, but it is so marked in the case of the Italians as to give rise to special comment.

The question naturally arises, Why are these people so lawless here in America? When I asked that of a brother of Rev. Eugene Volkay, pastor of a Greek church in Luzerne County, he replied:

> "In the villages whence the emigrants come the *gendarme* oversees their every act as a mother looks after her child. There is no laxity, no trifling with the police, especially in Austria-Hungary. Resistance with them does not mean, as here, the tapping of a club on your head or a shaking. It means death on the spot. I am an immigrant, but I realize that not even America can assimilate these enormous crowds, especially as they are the very worst classes of Europe. Over there they are ruled with an iron hand, absolutely inflexible."

Mr. Volkay has crossed the ocean a number of times, and says he never yet made a voyage toward America without having pointed out to him one or more passengers reputed to be criminals. Indeed, I should be surprised if it could be proved that the coal fields of Pennsylvania are free of *banditti* who fled from justice in their own lands.

Before dismissing the subject of societies, it is only just to state that the various nationalities support one or more whose avowed objects are to instil American patriotism, to aid the members when ill,

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and to care for the helpless. The leaders of such movements I believe to be earnest and sincere in their work; but so far as can be ascertained, the great majority of foreigners are not reached by them. There exist also in the anthracite regions newspapers published in foreign languages which are devoted to the great work of making good citizens of their readers. The editors of such journals cannot be commended too highly, for in the present serious condition of affairs the Americans must depend upon them to a great extent. If such a thing were lawful, it would be a wise expenditure to aid these men from the governmental purse. And at least they should have the moral support of every good American.

Do many of these foreigners become citizens? They take out naturalization papers and vote, helping to make our laws. In fact, the foreign vote not infrequently turns a municipal or a county election; and in a State contest the utmost endeavors are made to control it by both parties. Owing to the low price at which many thousands of the foreigners hold their votes, a dollar per head will often make a big difference in the returns. These lower-class immigrants are here for just one purpose—to hoard every dollar they can lay their hands on. The most intelligent American residents of the anthracite regions are fully aroused to the situation. They have these people among them, and more are coming daily from Castle Garden. The churches are doing good work. Missions are being established here and there. In at least one town Christian young men and young women have given up most forms of social diversion and spend their evenings, month after month, in teaching free night-schools. But in the presence of overwhelming numbers the work seems hopeless.

However, the foreigners are in the country and there is but one method of civilizing them. Yet, with certain nationalities, even this will not avail with the present generation. The churches and the schools must make a tremendous effort. Naught will lift these people to civilization but the Bible and the primer. American clergymen and teachers will not answer. Men like the converted Sicilian soldier are the only ones who can accomplish this great foreign missionary work here in America. Realizing the down-trodden condition of these people, I know that America is to them a dream of paradise. I have a profound pity for the poverty-stricken multitudes of Italy's thirty million population who never can better themselves except by coming to America for a time. And yet, what will be the result to our country if the gates are left open?

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I am satisfied that Congress has no adequate information in regard to the subject of immigration. What must be done is to create a permanent commission on immigration, to be appointed by the President. This should consist of three members, to serve ten years. All question of political ideas must be disregarded in appointing these men. The problem with which they are to grapple is too great to allow petty party interference. They must be the best men to be obtained, and such men will not devote their entire time to the work without adequate compensation for their services and the payment of travelling expenses. The commission should have an office in Washington and should personally study the immigrants in every section of the United States. Furthermore, their study should extend abroad to the lands whence these people come, so that we might know positively just what to expect from Europe. The commission should report at every session of Congress.

HENRY ROOD.

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POPULAR EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

FROM the time of Plato to the present the theory of education entertained by a people has been said to reflect their current ideal of life, and the development of schools and of the other means of learning has been accepted as the mirror of a nation's progress. It was this thought which induced me to describe the University of Michigan. The success of the university has indeed been remarkable. Founded on the grant of land for higher education contained in the ordinance of 1787, it seems from the outset to have been guided by a spirit of liberality and confidence in the people which in theory ought to characterize a public institution. Its history and influence and the quickness with which it has responded to the changing needs of the people are accepted as enduring arguments for higher education by the state. It is indeed fitting that on the wall over the platform where eight thousand four hundred and sixteen men and women have, during the past twenty-one years, received from him who still presides over the institution their diplomas of graduation, these words of Thomas Jefferson, quoted from the ordinance of 1787, should be inscribed: "Religion, Morality, and Knowledge being Necessary to Good Government and the Happiness of Mankind, Schools and the Means of Education shall forever be encouraged."

As an idea the history of the university goes back to 1817, although the idea did not assume definite form until some years later. In 1841 the doors of the institution were first opened for instruction, and nine students availed themselves of its advantages; during the academic year just closed, twenty-six hundred and ninety-two students were in attendance on the university. The first class, numbering twelve, was graduated in 1845; on the last commencement day six hundred and ninety names were added to the roll of *alumni*. Thus within the span of an ordinary life the university has grown from nothing to become the largest institution of learning in the United States. It is certainly pertinent to inquire what may be the secret of this phenomenal development. Is it merely the result of good for-

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tune? Is it because the interests of the university have been intrusted to exceptionally wise men? Or is it due to some peculiarity of organization? In the place of a formal history, I will notice what is peculiar to the university or characteristic of its organization, since in this manner the real meaning of its history will be more perfectly appreciated.

The first and most important feature is that the University of Michigan is a State institution, and as such it has been obliged to sit quietly by and see its rivals, resting on private foundations, sweep in the stakes of private benevolence. This has been frequently deplored by the friends of the university, but there are some reasons for believing that it is the secret of its rapid growth and of the marked influence which it has exerted on the development of education. In the transition from the narrow and rigid to the broad and liberal curriculum of studies which every student of the history of pedagogy recognizes to have taken place during the last thirty years, the University of Michigan has been the pioneer. It has constantly offered new features of education in response to the new demands of a progressive civilization.

A considerable portion of the land now occupied by the city of Toledo was once the property of the university. It would doubtless be pressing the argument too far to urge that the loss of this property was a blessing in disguise; but it is true, as attested by the facts in the case, that the dissipation of the Federal grant until all that now remains is a permanent annuity of thirty thousand dollars has compelled the university to rely more and more on the good will of the people of Michigan, and this has necessitated the constant exercise of a keen and discriminating appreciation of the needs of the State. The ideas welcomed in such an institution cannot be the sort which, as Bagehot remarks, "find their home in academies and out of their dignified windows pooh-pooh new things," for it is the idea of new things to which a university resting on popular approval must throw open its doors.

Another fact should be noted in this connection which strengthens the thought thus presented. The governing body of the University of Michigan is elected by popular suffrage and is regarded as an independent branch of the government co-ordinate with the legislature. This is indeed a unique feature. As a form of organization it meets the condemnation of theorists, but it has worked admirably. Certain precautions have been taken to guard the university from the ordinary political influences. Thus the election of regents takes

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place, together with the election of judges of the Supreme Court, in an "off" year, and both parties have for the most part refrained from degrading their offices to political ends. The office of regent is regarded as one of the most honorable in the gift of the people, as is attested by the presence on the existing board of a gentleman who declined a nomination to Congress in a sure district, accepting by preference the place he now holds. It would be impossible to bring the university into closer organic relation with the people than to intrust its government to an elected board, and to oblige this board to come for supplies to an elected legislature. Such an organization evinces a confidence in popular suffrage which gives the institution a truly democratic character and makes it the most perfect educational counterpart of American life. Thus what in theory ought to have resulted in the confusion of the university has proven to be a vital principle of its life, and what, according to Tory ideas, should have obstructed the growth of an institution of learning, has in fact given impulse and direction to its development. This is attested by the history of the university from the beginning to the present.

Not only is the university by virtue of its organization in sympathy with the State—it is an organic part of the general system of public instruction, realizing in this particular also the ideal of education entertained by Thomas Jefferson. The honor of having given definite form to the educational system of Michigan belongs to the Rev. John D. Pierce, the first superintendent of public instruction. Shortly after having come to the Territory, in 1831, a copy of Cousin's famous "Report on Education in Prussia" fell into his hands. His imagination was fired with the thought of the possibility afforded by an application of such a system to the new and undeveloped State; and when he was called upon to frame a law for the organization of education in Michigan, it was not the New England college with its private academies which furnished him the ideal, but the simple, harmonious, and complete system of state education most perfectly realized in Prussia.

It would be impossible to overestimate the far-reaching influence of this law; not only did it give permanent character to education in Michigan, but the entire Northwest has felt its influence; for in matters of education the States of the Northwest have largely followed the lead of Michigan. The ideal of the university which found expression in this law was that of a German university. The first steps were indeed ridiculous when compared with the fulness of

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the model which was accepted, but the ideal has never been lost to view. As expressed by Prof. Calvin Thomas:

> "A university in the German sense is an institution crowning the educational system of a State, treating its students as free adults engaged in a *bona-fide* pursuit of knowledge, offering its advantages at the lowest possible price, sending down its roots into the life of the people, to take thence the sap of its own vitality, and paying back the debt by raising the level of intelligence and adding to the value and dignity of life throughout the entire Commonwealth."

But how, it may be asked, does the University of Michigan "crown the educational system of the State"? What relation has it to the common schools? The relation that exists is a very simple one. The graduates of high-schools and of a few selected private schools are permitted to enter the university without examination, provided the schools from which they come have been examined and approved by a committee of the faculty. In this manner the university exercises a direct influence on the schools: poor teachers are weeded out, improper text-books are excluded, and uniform courses of study are introduced. This arrangement is as familiar now with the universities of the West as it is simple and efficient, but it was seriously criticised when it was first made by the University of Michigan. Much of the efficiency, however, of education in the State is traceable to it.

It is natural that an institution brought into such intimate relations with the common people should feel almost instantly the appearance of new forces tending to intensify or to modify their civilization. The year 1840 marked the beginning of a new era in American life. Ten years of experiment with railways had shown that distance need no longer be a barrier to commerce, and that the best lands, rather than navigable streams, might for the future direct the migrations of the people. A new impulse was given to inventions and a new line of activity opened up to men trained in science and in the commercial arts. The pedagogical question presented by this state of affairs was whether the universities should provide this training or whether it should be obtained in a loose, haphazard, unscientific manner. It is to the enduring honor of the University of Michigan that forty years before most institutions of learning in this country acknowledged the existence of the question, the necessity for scientific training was clearly recognized and a course was laid out leading to the new degree of "Bachelor of Science," which quickly came to be recognized as equal to the time-honored "Bachelor of Arts." The important point, however, is that scientific training was from the beginning cordially

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admitted to full fellowship in the university. That this was the case is due largely to the wisdom and foresight of that truly great educator, Dr. Henry P. Tappan, the first president.

The spirit of liberality evinced in 1852 by the establishment of the scientific course has manifested itself in many ways during the years which followed. It was accepted as a principle that whenever a demand for a peculiar kind of education showed itself the demand should be met, a principle which led to the establishment of the degree of "Bachelor of Philosophy" for those having no opportunity to prepare in Greek, and of the degree of "Bachelor of Letters" for those who preferred modern to ancient languages. The degree of "Bachelor of Science" also has been differentiated to allow of specialization in the various branches of science; so that at present this degree may be taken with specific mention on the diploma showing whether the student has specialized in civil engineering, mining engineering, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, chemistry, or biology. It is by no means certain that the policy which recognizes differentiation in courses of study by different degrees is the correct one; the facts are not here brought to notice for the purpose of calling attention to the pedagogical question involved, but to show how the university, following its avowed policy of intrusting the direction of its development to the choice of the people, has succeeded in providing for the many and varied needs of its constituency. The educational system is complicated because of the complexity of the civilization it serves. The application of the policy just mentioned is further observed if we notice the departments of instruction offered in the university. All the degrees above referred to are conferred by the faculty of the Departments of Literature, Science, and the Arts. But besides these, appropriate courses are offered in the Department of Medicine, which was opened in 1850; in the Department of Law, which was opened in 1859; in the Department of Pharmacy, which was established in 1868; in the Homœopathic Department, which was established in 1875; and in the Department of Dental Surgery, which also was established in 1875. These several departments taken together make up the University of Michigan.

All departments of the university are domiciled on the same campus; thus the university exists in reality, and not merely in a catalogue or in an announcement. This being the case, it is gratifying to the friends of liberal education to notice the steady growth of the Literary Department, for it shows, contrary to the fears of the

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timid, that the presence of professional schools is not detrimental to academic training; on the contrary, a close examination of the question discloses the fact that the proximity of the various departments is mutually advantageous. The old lines which separated culture from science and professional learning from them both are fast being effaced. Instruction in liberal arts conforms more and more to scientific requirements; instruction in the sciences cannot disregard the claims either of true culture or of professional needs; while instruction in the professional schools is brought to an unusually high standard by its contact with the arts and sciences. And all this is accomplished through the unconscious coercion of the student body, whose members mingle freely with each other. It is the natural consequence of *the organization of the university rather than the result of foresight* on the part of those who have administered it. There is not yet, perhaps, that complete formal interchange of courtesies between the various departments which the ideal university demands, but the necessity for this is becoming more and more apparent to the governing body, and its accomplishment will doubtless be the next important step in the development of the institution. The university spirit exists, and it cannot be long before that spirit finds adequate formal expression.

The general principle underlying the elective system was recognized by the university in 1852, when scientific studies were accorded equal rank with classical studies; but the policy was not formally promulgated until 1878, when the requirement of four years' residence for graduation was abolished, and in its place was substituted the requirement that a certain number of courses should be completed, each student being free to elect such courses as seemed to him most profitable. The adoption of the elective system marks the beginning of a new era for the university, since by means of it specialization on the part of both instructor and student has been encouraged, and a wonderfully rich and varied course of instruction has been the result. In the Departments of Literature, Science, and the Arts there were in 1878 one hundred and forty-three courses offered, as against four hundred and eighty courses in 1892. It is not a matter of accident that the number of students in the Literary Department increased during this period from four hundred and forty-one to thirteen hundred and thirty, nor in the university as a whole from thirteen hundred and seventy-two to twenty-six hundred and ninety-two. The influence of this liberality of elections upon the courses of study may be the most

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vividly shown by indicating its results in a single department of instruction. In 1887 political economy might claim the attention of students for two hours a week throughout the year. The announcement for the next academic year shows four instructors in political economy alone, and a sufficient number of courses to furnish work for a student who should elect them all with five hours a week for two full years. Thus in addition to the purely undergraduate courses, which include the study of elementary principles, of the history of industrial society, and a cursory examination of certain practical problems, intermediate and graduate courses are given covering the whole range of economic, financial, and social discussion. This is but typical of what has occurred in other departments of instruction. It is fair to refer to it as a legitimate result of the elective system and of the spirit of liberality on which the elective system rests.

There are many other features of the university as worthy of mention as those which find place in this article, but they all point in the same direction: they all show the wisdom of education under the direction of the State. It is commonly argued against this system, by those who base their reasoning on the philosophy of individualism, that governmental control must hinder free development in methods of instruction. The history of the University of Michigan does not support this argument. On the contrary, the conclusion at which one must arrive who reads its history is that an organic connection between the state and education is decidedly advantageous to education. One thing at least is certain: an educational system which is part of state machinery, provided the state be democratic in form, can never come to mean the education of a class, nor can a university which appeals to the people for pecuniary support become a centre from which aristocratic ideas or a plutocratic industrial philosophy are disseminated. State education must be democratic in the highest sense of that word, for its continued existence depends upon its being in harmony with the ideal of the people and upon the quickness with which it responds to public needs.

Looking at the past, there is every reason for the indulgence of a confident hope respecting the future of the University of Michigan, and it is perhaps a want of faith not warranted by the past which causes the friends of the university to regard with some solicitude the last step which it has taken in its purpose to become an ideal university. The State has shown perfect willingness to support with liberality a system of instruction which attracts large numbers of

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pupils. Will she be equally willing to support a technical, specialized education of which comparatively few may avail themselves? This is the question which confronts the university. Or, put in another way, will the State encourage research and investigation? If answered affirmatively, there is no assignable limit to the possible development of State universities; if negatively, State universities have had their day. The present situation is nothing less than a crisis in the life of popular education.

The faculty of the University of Michigan, recognizing fully the seriousness of the situation, have decided to put this question to the test by establishing a graduate school. The phrase is perhaps an unfortunate one, and, in my opinion, cannot maintain itself; but the important thing is that the step has been taken, and that technical, special, and high-grade professional studies have been provided for. By this step Michigan again becomes the standard-bearer of popular education, knowing well that if State universities cannot furnish what is best in every particular, their influence as distinctive aggressive forces in American life will be lost.

It is not, therefore, merely a matter of pride which has induced those who control the policy of the university to enter as competitors in the field of the highest education, although, as custodians of a successful part, such a pride might be justified: it is rather because of their belief in the principle of public education, because they feel the spirit which controls a State institution cannot be narrow or unsympathetic, and especially because they know that a graduate school supported by the people will react upon their life and character. This is the explanation of that enthusiasm and loyalty which is so marked a feature of the University of Michigan. It is the ground for confidence that this last step will be as completely successful as all previous steps which mark the course of its growth from an idea to an institution easily recognized as worthy a place among the best of the great institutions of learning which this country supports.

HENRY C. ADAMS.

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WRITERS AND SUBJECTS IN THE SEPTEMBER FORUM.

JOHN J. MCCOOK (*The Alarming Proportion of Venal Voters*), born in Ohio in 1843, was graduated at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. After service as a volunteer in the Civil War he studied law, medicine, and theology, entered the Episcopal ministry, and spent over a year in foreign travel. For ten years he has taught modern languages in Trinity, where he is still a professor. Since 1890 he has given considerable study to the questions of pauperism, drunkenness, and crime in this country and in Europe.

CHAUNCEY F. BLACK (*The Lesson of Homestead: A Remedy for Labor Troubles*), born in Somerset County, Pa., in 1839, was educated at Hiram College, Ohio, and at Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pa. He was admitted to the bar, but has practised little, devoting most of his time to journalistic and literary work, chiefly of a political character. He was elected lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania in 1882, and was a candidate for the governorship in 1886. In 1888 he was elected president of the "National Association of Democratic Clubs" by the Baltimore Convention, and since that year has been annually elected president of the "Democratic Society of Pennsylvania."

HERBERT WELSH (*Campaign Committees: Publicity as a Cure for Corruption*), born in Philadelphia in 1851, was graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1871 and studied art in Paris, but abandoned the pursuit of art to devote himself to the defence of the rights of the Indians. He is secretary of the Indian Rights Association. During the past few years he has been active as an Independent in movements for political reform.

MICHAEL D. HARTER (*Campaign Committees: A Plan for More Effective Management*), born at Canton, Ohio, in 1846, is a resident of Mansfield, Ohio, and a Democratic member of Congress. Mr. Harter has had long experience as a private banker and manufacturer. He is a vigorous opponent of the free coinage of silver and did much to defeat the Bland Bill.

ROBERT H. THURSTON (*The Next Great Problems of Science*) was born in Providence, R. I., in 1839, and was graduated at Brown University in 1859. After two years' experience of practical engineering he entered the United States Navy as engineer, and won rapid promotion for his services during the Civil War. In 1865 he was made assistant professor and lecturer on chemistry in Annapolis. In 1878 he became professor of mechanical engineering at the Stevens Institute of Technology, where he remained for fourteen years, resigning from the navy in 1872. In 1885 he became director of the Sibley College of Cornell University. He has made several inventions and has published more than a dozen books.

DAVID A. WELLS (*"A Tariff for Revenue": What it Really Means*), born in Springfield, Mass., in 1828, was graduated at Williams College in 1847. After a brief experience on the editorial staff of the "Springfield Republican" he took the scientific course at Harvard as a special pupil of Louis Agassiz. He was an assistant at Harvard and a teacher of science at Groton until 1857. During the next few years he compiled several scientific works which won for him a wide reputation. In 1864 he published a political essay entitled "Our Burden and Our Strength," which created much discussion both in America and Europe. In 1867, after investigations in

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Europe as a member of a Governmental commission sent there to study industrial conditions, he became a free-trader. He has since been a member of several Governmental commissions, has assisted as an expert in the management of railroads, and has written voluminously on economic subjects.

DAVID SWING (*The Enlarged Church*), born in Cincinnati in 1830, was graduated at Miami University in 1852. He was professor of languages in this university for twelve years. In 1866 he became pastor of a Presbyterian church in Chicago. He was tried for heresy in 1874, was acquitted, and then withdrew from the Presbyterian Church. He is now independent of denominational relations.

HENRY K. CARROLL (*Religious Progress of the Negro*) was born in Dennisville, N. J., 1848. He was the founder and editor of the "Havre Republican," at Havre-de-Grâce, Md., in 1868; assistant editor of "The Methodist," 1869; assistant editor of "Hearth and Home," 1870; and religious editor of "The Independent" in 1876, of which he is now the religious and political editor. He was appointed special agent of the Eleventh Census in 1889. He received the degree of LL.D. from Syracuse University in 1885.

YUNG KIUNG YEN (*A Chinaman on Our Treatment of China*) is a resident of Shanghai. He was educated in this country and entered the Episcopal ministry. Since his return to China he has devoted himself to the Christianizing of his people and to the study of their social and economic condition. He has not broken from his American affiliations and he has maintained his interest in American affairs. He is one of the few persons who possess a thorough knowledge of both sides of the Chinese question.

E. W. HOWE (*Provincial Peculiarities of Western Life*), born in Wabash County, Ind., was trained as a printer. After his eighteenth year he devoted himself to newspaper work. In 1878 he became proprietor and editor of the "Atchison Globe," which he still conducts. In 1884 he published his first novel, "A Story of a Country Town," which was highly praised. He has since written "The Mystery of the Locks," "A Moonlight Boy," and "A Man Story."

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK (*The Scandinavians in the Northwest*), born in South Brookfield, N. Y., 1864, moved to Minnesota in 1885, and was graduated at the University of Minnesota in 1889. In 1889–90 he was fellow in history, and since 1890 he has been instructor in history, in that university. He has travelled through the Northwest and through Norway and Sweden, and has made a special study of the Scandinavian settlement in this country.

HENRY ROOD (*The Mine Laborers in Pennsylvania*) was born in Philadelphia in 1867. After pursuing a special course at Dartmouth he became news editor of the "New York Mail and Express." Since then he has devoted much time to studying immigrants from the Canadian border through New England and the Middle States. For the past year he has been living with the immigrants in the anthracite regions, and his present paper is the result of his observations there.

HENRY C. ADAMS (*Popular Education at the University of Michigan*) was graduated at Iowa College in 1874, and four years later received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Johns Hopkins University. He was lecturer in Cornell and Johns Hopkins universities in 1880, and also in the University of Michigan in 1881. From 1882 to 1887 he directed the department of political economy in Cornell as well as at the University of Michigan. In 1887 he became professor of political economy and finance at the University of Michigan.

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